

REMARKS

ON SOME

Late Sermons;

And in particular

On Dr. Sherlock's Sermon at the Temple,
Decemb. 30. 1694.

In a Letter to a Friend.

The second Edition, with Additions.

Together with a Letter to the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, *A Defence of the Archbishop's Sermon, &c. And several other Sermons, &c.*

L O N D O N,

Printed in the Year MDCXCV.

REPLACES

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To the AUTHOR of the DEFENCE, &c.

S I R,

I Have read over your Pamphlet called a *Defence*, &c. and I give you my most hearty *Thanks* for it. This, I know, you will look upon as an unsuitable return for those Characters you have so liberally bestowed on me, of *Scribler*, *Libeller*, *Villain*, *Cerberus*, *Liar*: And not content with these, out of your abundant Charity have cloathed them with very improving and significant Epithets, as *black moutb'd Libeller*, *black moutb'd Cerberus*, *barbarous Liar*, and abundance more of the same Strain in every Page; whereby you have opened the inside of your Heart, and convinc'd me of your good Inclinations to me-ward, however unworthy, and undeserving. Alas! Sir, that a Gentleman of your Parts should have lost so much Time, as after the spending many Years in Liberal Studies, should at last arrive only to such a Degree of Eloquence, as a Man of an ordinary Capacity would, in one Hours time, be compleatly Master of in the Converse and Education of *Billingsgate*: Had you been pleased to have bestowed your good Graces on me, in the Language of a Gentleman, or a Scholar, or in any other besides that of Scavengers and Car-men, I should have taken it every Jot as well; but every Man in his own way. In the mean time give me leave to tell you, That though you have taken abundance of Pains, and said your utmost in the best manner you could, yet all your Labour is perfectly lost: For the World is given to judge with their own Eyes; and they will not take the Character of the *Remarks*, or of the Author of it, from any Thing that you say, but from the Book it self. And if (to come out of your Debt) I should say you were a *Fine*, *Civil*, *Well-bred Gentleman*, it will not turn to your Advantage; for no Body will believe it, who hath read but four Lines of your Pamphlet. And therefore you may say all the bad Things you can think on, and I may return them in as many good ones; yet neither you nor I shall fare the better, or the worse for it: But it will be the respective Pamphlets which at last must determine, who is the *Scribler*, the *Libeller*, the *Villain*, the *Liar*, and so forth. When therefore these laudable Qualities are brought to the Touchstone, and tryed by the Subject Matter of the Two Books, the Reader will never ask your leave to assign them to the Right Owner: For

though indeed he is purely beholding to you for these goodly Terms, yet the Application of them is intirely in him; and he will be sure to adjudge them to him that best deserves them.

And this, Sir, is all the Answer you are to expect from me to all those fair spoken Titles you have given me under what Formsoever; that is, to half your Book. But I hold my self bound to account to you for some further Favours wherewith you have obliged me, and to say before you the Grounds why I returned you *my hearty Thanks*: For though 'tis possible you might not design me any Kindness, and consequently might not expect any Thanks from me, being conscious to your self that you never intended to give me Occasion; but I do not stand upon these Niceties, nor will examine your Intentions, when you have given Mistrer for a Man's Gratitude to work upon. And I do assure you, That both you, and your Pamphlet, have very well deserved of me, whether you intended it or no: And accordingly I am resolved to be Thankful to you, whether you will or no, and that for these Reasons.

1. You have effectually convinc'd me (and the World too, so far as your Pamphlet hath been taken Notice of) of the Hatred and ill Will you bear me, for the *honest and plain Truths* delivered in my Book, which I very much rejoice at, well knowing that it will tend to my Reputation amongst all honest and sober Men; and (to deal plainly with you) I hope I shall never deserve your good Opinion; and nothing can gratify me more than to be ill spoken of by you, and such as you; the harder your Words are, the greater Honour and Kindness you do me: And my poor Pamphlet hath now one Character more to recommend it to the World, That Men of your Temper are very wrathful and displeased at it. Your *Villain, Cerberus, and Liar*, are Titles of Honour and Esteem, and (when they come from your Mouth) will serve instead of so many studied and elaborate Commendations. *in Laudem Authoris*. 'Tis Panegyrick in masquerade, the most real Kindness a little disguised and rough clad; for all the World will conclude, That the Truths are very clear and evident, when they see you so much provoked, and your *Gall and Spleen* affected in so high a Degree; as when the *Sun shines* brightest, the *Dung-hill stinks* most. I pray, Sir, spare me that one *Allusion*, 'tis all the trouble I am like to give you for your *Animals*, your *Poisons*, your *Bumpers, Kennels, Kidneys*, and such like Flights of your Wit.

2. You have hereby given me a just Occasion of Reprinting the *Remarks*, which I now do under a new Capacity, as a *direct Answer* and *perfect Confutation* of your *Defence*; and, as such, I shall leave it to the Judgment of every impartial and unprejudiced Reader. For

if any Man, either of Sense or Honesty, can think that you have said any Thing to weaken the Force, or invalidate the Truth of any one Paragraph or Sentence in it, I am contented to join issue with you, and to own, That it is as mean a *Scribble* as ever came from the Press; for (to speak plain truth) that must be very mean indeed, which such a *Defence* as yours is able to impair or discredit. And I am so little concern'd in any Thing you have said, that had it not been for a much better End, *viz.* The making the *Remarks* more Publick; you and your *Defence* might have lain long enough, before I could think either worth the taking Notice of.

3. You have taken abundance of Pains, and said all that you are able, to justify one of the main Charges laid down in the *Remarks*; that is, *To blacken all they can whom they think are not in their ungodly Interest, or obstruct it.* This Sir, I thank you, you have abundantly prov'd, and made good, beyond Exception. And let any Man read your Pamphlet, and then doubt of the Truth of this, if he can; it was kindly done of you to confirm my Allegations with fresh Instances of your own, and to accumulate new Proofs from one end of your Book to the other. For your *Satyr* is every jot as Fierce and Furious, only a little more Dirty, and seems as if it was bred in a *Pigsty*.

4. I am yet further obliged to you for confirming (according to your Model and Talent) all other Matters and Things in the *Remarks* you have thought good to take Notice of; so that, if you had pleased, you might have called your Pamphlet a *Defence* of the *Remarks*: For I can assure you, it is a much better Defence of the *Remarks*, than of the *Sermons*. This, I suppose, you did not think on, and it may be you do not yet know it; but in this I shall relieve you by an enumeration of Particulars, and then take my leave of you.

I. You tell me, (p. 1.) That I charge *such of the Clergy as think themselves oblig'd to speak honorably of the present Government with inconsistency with their former Principles and Practices*; and then add, *If it could be but as well proved, as it is boldly asserted.* Well, Sir, whether I have proved it or no, I shall leave to the Reader; but I am very certain you have proved it sufficiently: For you immediately tell me, I should have consider'd what hath been writ in defence of the Clergy from that Charge, by Mr. Johnson, and the Author of *Bibliotheca Politica*. This Sir, let me tell you, is a very lucky Choice, and you could not have pickt out two such Authors for my Purpose. For the Principles that both of them proceed upon, are directly contrary to those which the Gentlemen (whom the *Remarks* charges with inconsistency) have asserted, preached, and maintained over and over: Mr. Johnson and the *Letter to the Lord Russel* consist like Fire and Water, and Dr. Bur-

ner's

met's *Dialogues* and the *Bibliotheca* are as consistent as Contradictions, or as that Doctor is consistent with himself; so that you defend them from inconsistency by plainly proving it: For if these Gentlemen justify their present Practices by the Principles of those two Authors, then they do it by deserting and abandoning their own Principles, and that, Sir, (with your good leave) is *Inconsistency* with a Witness, and if you please down-right *Apostacy*. But you tell us, they defend them from inconsistency by proving, That *Passive Obedience, as cry'd up in the late Times, was never the Doctrin of the Church of England*: But by your Favour, that is more than they, or you, or all your Party, are able to prove; but that is not the Question now, and therefore suppose it, what is that to the Purpose? These very Gentlemen believed and taught, That *Passive Obedience* was the Doctrin of that Church, and as such pressed it upon the Consciences of Men under pain of Damnation. And does not your own Mr. *Johnson* tell one of them, (Dr. *Tillotson*) That *he cram'd Passive Obedience down the Throat of a dying Lord*? And could you find no Body but Mr. *Johnson* to defend him from Inconsistency? And I'll warrant you Dr. *Sherlock* is defended from Inconsistency too, by his old Friend Mr. *Johnson*. Sir, you have the strangest way of defending Things that ever was heard of: But it seems even this Defence (such as it is) admits of Exceptions; for you add, *For such of them as might be hurried into that Opinion, by the Current of the Times*; meaning St. *Asaph*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Sherlock*, and all the Ecclesiastical Champions of the Usurpation; (for these are the Men who held this Opinion are charged with Inconsistency, and whom you undertake to defend from it:) These, it seems, are the light and inconsiderate Men, who took up an Opinion of this Weight with haste and precipitation, and without due Regard had to the Nature of it. So that when Dr. *Tillotson* wrote the *Letter to the Lord Russel*, when Dr. *Burnet* wrote his *Dialogues*, Dr. *Patrick* his *Friendly Debate and Paraphrases*, Dr. *Sherlock* his *Case of Resistance*, Dr. *Stillingfleet* his *Jesuits Loyalty*; 'twas all Weakness and Incogitancy, they swam with the Stream, without either Caution or Consideration. Now, Sir, if this is all that can be honestly said for them, 'tis sure no extraordinary Character, and makes their Authority of no Value in the World. For if Men can be hurried into such Opinions, by the Current of the Times, who knows but they may be so still? And the wisest Man living will never be able to distinguish, whether their new Opinions and Practices are the result of their Judgments, or the effects of the Times; and give me leave to tell you, That when Men change their Doctrins, with Seasons and Opportunities, 'tis a shrewd Suspicion that the *Times* make the Doctrines;

trines; and if you will derive their Pedigree, they may say to the Revolution, *Thou art our Father*. However such it seems they are, and what is to be said to defend them? Why as to that, you tell us, *It may be reply'd that no Man is forbid to examin his Principles*. To examin his Principles? No doubt of it. But pray, Sir, what do you mean by *Examining*? One would think that when Men preach *Sermons*, write *Books*, treat of the Question *ex Professo*, that they either had, or at least ought to have *examined* them. Upon my Word you make rare Men of them, and fit to be trusted with our Consciences. And this is a glorious *Defence* indeed, that from Year to Year, from Sermon to Sermon, from Book to Book, they inculcate these Principles, and fasten them upon the Consciences of Men, as eternal and immutable Doctrines, and yet never *examined* them themselves. Sir, this is a lamentable Case, and you are very hard put to it, when you have no other way to defend them, but what at one Dash blasts all their Authority, and discredits every Thing they have said since the Revolution, as well as before: For I crave leave to tell you, That meer *Swearing* will never mend a Man's Character. And therefore you call upon them to much purpose, *to lay bold on all Occasions to commend the present Government*; when at the same time you have taken extraordinary Care that their Words shall go for just nothing: For if the World believe you, I am certain they neither will, nor can believe them. But for all that, they must be defended. And you yet add, That my whole Charge amounts to no more than this, that *some of the Clergy were formerly Blind, but now they See*. Well! if my Charge amounts to no more, yours (you see) amounts to a great deal more; and you must answer for it as well as you can. However methinks this is a pretty way to defend them from *Inconsistency*; for what you call *Blindness* and *Seeing*, I call *Owning* and *Renouncing*, and so does all the World besides: But you may call it what you please, your Metaphors mean the same Thing; and the plain English is, They have forsaken their former Principles, and that is the *Inconsistency* I charge them with, which you frankly own, and abundantly prove; so that as far as I can see, we are perfectly agreed, and there need no more Words about it.

II. The next Thing is the Distinction of the Clergy, between the *Sycophants* and *Flatterers*, who desiy the *Usurpation*, and those who comply, yet retain their old Principles, and are far the *Best, the Wisest, the Honestest, and most Numerous*. This, Sir, is a Truth I do not expect you should own; but for all that you cannot forbear implying it by your *Threatning*: For you think I ought to have kept this as an *important Secret* under *secreted Concealment*, lest the Government be on their

Guard!

Guard against them, and either put their Loyalty to the Touchstone, by making them abjure, as has been done in Scotland, or take such other Measures as may turn them all out, and make room for honest Men. And why did not you also tell us here, and turn them all out as he did in Scotland? Why because you are a cunning Man, and will not tell your Secrets, lest the Church should have been on her Guard, and look to themselves, that they are not ensnared by one who hath given such evident Indications of his good Will towards them: And since we are upon Secrets, I do not much care if I tell you another Secret. "A good number of Episcopal Divines in Scotland (who had taken the "Oaths) were turned out by the Assembly, and their Churches filled "with honest Presbyterians, without the least Allowance from their Livings: Whereupon they petitioned your Great and Illustrious for a "Maintenance out of the depriv'd Bishops Revenues, which he had "seiz'd upon. Now, Sir, out of his abundant Charity, heroick Nature, "and great Affections to the Church, he allowed them not one Farthing: And yet notwithstanding he actually gives a Pension of 1200 L. "per An. to Presbyterian and Independent Ministers in the Province of "Munster in Ireland, and in April last signed Privy Seals for the punctual Payment of it; and for the Proof of this, you may, if you "please, consult the Letters Mandat in the Signet Office. Sir, I doubt you must reverse your Character, and make the Clergy now stark Blind, if they do not see upon what Terms they stand with your renowned Deliverer, and what great and glorious Designs he hath to devour them, so soon as he hath Power and Opportunity. Your Example of Scotland, and the Project of Abjuration, and turning all out, hath been upon the Anvil, and he hath as good a Will to the Church Lands as to his Father's Crown: But he never durst put it to the Issue, lest it should discover the Weakness of his Interest. For (to give you one Secret more) the Eyes of the Nation are opened, they see themselves cheated and abused, and instead of Liberties and Privileges, find themselves made Tools to insatiable Ambition, and a Morsel for execrable Parricide. And it was the most unaccountable Infatuation to have expected otherwise; that he, who had Stomach enough to devour his Father, would ever stick at preying on the Wealth, the Rights, and Vitals of a Nation. I know, Sir, you have a Remedy for all this, and you will tell me, it had been Wisdom to have put this under sacred Concealment, lest the Government guard it self against the People, and serve them as the de Witts were served in Holland; that is, to knock them on the Head to make room for the Loyal and Honest Dutch. And then, Sir, your Deliverance would be compleat.

III. I had honestly told you, That all the Liberty this Nation enjoys under this Revolution, is a Liberty of giving 7 or 8 Millions yearly, &c. and defied all the Flatterers to shew any other Liberty, besides such as they, as the direct and immediate Fruits of the Revolution. I pray, Sir, mark the last Words, for upon them all the matter depends; for there are several Liberties an English man enjoys which are general and not appropriate to Times and Seasons. As for Instance, an Englishman may breath in the English Air, without being beholding to any Government; but to have that Air polluted by execrable Oaths, Perjuries, and Blasphemies, this is peculiar to the Revolution. It is the Privilege of the several Societies of Merchants to trade abroad to the respective Places and Kingdoms; but to have this Trade cramped by a Dutch Interest, to have their Effects taken, and themselves ruin'd, this is peculiar to the Revolution. It is the Liberty of any Man to refuse bad Money; but to have nothing else but bad Money to refuse, is the direct Effect of the Revolution. Any Man has Liberty to go about his necessary Occasions on Sundays; but to have Licenced Coaches to carry them; is purely owing to the Revolution. It is the Privilege of the City of London to have Coals from Newcastle; but to have them at 5 l. a Chaldron, and moreover 5 s. a Chaldron Tax, this is the peculiar Liberty of the Revolution: So that, Sir, if you carefully distinguish this Point, you and I shall soon be agreed. As to instance in some of those Liberties you reckon up as the direct Fruits of the Revolution. We are (say you) now at Liberty to make such Laws as are proper to preserve us from Dangers. Very well, Sir; but you forget to add, That we are in the greatest Danger from the Law-makers themselves; and that we are at Liberty to purchase any Law with our Money, provided we will go to the Price of it. Again, All Protestants have now a Liberty of Conscience; yea Sir, and a Liberty too to have no Conscience at all. You add, We are now deliver'd from impos'd Sheriffs, and pack'd Juries; yes, by all means, and from suborn'd and perjur'd Witnesses, as in the Cases of Young, Blacket, Lum, Wamble &c. We are now deliver'd from all Restraints of voting for Members of Parliament; yea, Sir, and from all restraint too of voting for Members to no Parliament at all. We are in no fear of having a Court Faction impos'd on us as the Representatives of the Nation; especially considering that there are no above 350 in the House, who are Officers or Pensioners. We are now secur'd against keeping up a standing Army in Times of Peace; yes, Sir, and for a very good Reason, because we have not had one Moment of Peace since the Revolution, nor are ever like to have it, to try the Experiment. We are now deliver'd from all Danger of being engag'd in War with our Protestant Allies

Allies the Dutch; I marry, Sir, this is a Liberty indeed, and worth all the rest: But I wonder you should be so short, and not add, That we had now a Liberty of giving them 600000 *l.* at once, and three times as much at several other times; besides the loss of ten times more, by their clipping and embasing our Coin, and supplanting and ruining our Trade.

These, Sir, and a great many more (with which you fill a Page and a half) I am resolv'd never to Dispute with you about; but only desire you carefully to distinguish what are the proper and peculiar Effects of the Revolution: And I dare promise you, you will confirm every Word I have said, and upon the Foot of the Account you will find nothing but *Iniquity, Fraud, and Beggary*, entail'd upon the Nation; which you, if you please, may call glorious Liberties and Privileges. But every Man that can but remember for Ten years, and hath Eyes in his Head to compare the present State of the Nation with what it was then, will not need your Instruction to see the Difference, and to point out the Authors of all and every one of these irrecoverable Calamities we now groan under.

IV. I had said, That the Revolution (in the first Steps of it) was as great a Violation of Leagues and solemn Treaties, and the publick Faith of Nations, as ever was known: For that it was not only contrary to that perfect Peace and Amity that was then between *K. James*, and the *States*; but also contrary to their express Declarations to his Ambassador in the very Case. Now, Sir, this you attack most terribly and furiously, (p.9.) as in the first Place you say, *The States made no War upon England, but only lent their Forces to the Prince of Orange*: No, not at all, Sir; because the Forces were all theirs, all the time under their Pay, and because they received 600000 *l.* for the Expedition. This makes it a plain Case, that the *States* had nothing to do in the matter; and that they, honest Men, kept their Faith all the while inviolably with the King: Even as when the *Dutch* deny'd themselves to be Christians in *India*, and cut the Throats of the *English*; why, Sir, they only lent themselves to the *Infidels*, and they were the Murderers, though it was committed by *Dutch* hands. Well, no-Body knows the Advantage of a good Advocate: However you add, *Though they had declared the War in their own Names, 'tis no more than what might be justified*: Yes, most certainly; because they not only did not declare it, but declared most solemnly and expressly the clean contrary. But no matter for that, you still go on, *Though neither the Prince nor States had any Cause of their own, it would have been not only just but generous, to have lent their*

their helping hand to a neighbouring Protestant Church and State. Without all doubt, Sir, it is a great Argument of Dutch Justice and Generosity, to invade a neighbouring Prince in perfect Peace with them; and at the same time to assure his Ambassador they had no Designs against him. These, Sir, are terrible Demonstrations, and who can say any Thing against them; but methinks you might have used your Victory a little more moderately. Was it not enough to confound your Adversary by such thundering Arguments, but you must over and above call him *Lyar*, and *Villain*, and *Cerberus* besides? In the mean time, Sir, the Question here (if you have not forgot it) is not about *Causes*, and *helping Hands*; but concerning *breach of Faith*, and of *solemn Leagues and Treaties*: If therefore your *Protestant Allies* had a mind to help one of themselves to cut the Throat of his Father, why let them do it; for being Dutch nobody expected otherwise from them. But what need they, at the same time, assure the old Gentleman, That they meant him no harm, but all the kindness in the World? If they had resolved to assist some neighbouring *Rebels*, why they may do as they please, 'tis but acting like themselves: But to do this while they were under the Bond of *Leagues and Treaties*, and present *Promises and Assurances* to the contrary; This Sir, by your Favour, is a little too much even for our *Protestant Allies*, who notwithstanding may be allowed as much in such Cases, as any People in the World. What tragical Work do you make with the *French King's* destroying Towns *after surrender, upon the Faith of Articles?* (p. 14.) As to the Truth of which however I desire to be excused; for I doubt your Authors, *Monsieur Observator* and *Monsieur Gazette*, are not of much Credit. But I pray, Sir, is the *Faith of Articles* more Sacred than the *Faith of Leagues*, or the *Faith of solemn Assurances to Ambassadors*? Now if violating the *Faith of Articles* renders a Prince (who is not of our side) Ten times worse than *Nehuchadnezzar*, and all the *Savages and Barbarous* in Nature? Pray what a goodly Figure will your *Stadtholder*, with all his Dutch Protestants behind him, make when they appear in Story, breaking through all the Bonds of *Nature, Religion, common Honesty, and the Faith of Nations*? I doubt, Sir, (let you and I do what we can) the Revolution, with all its Circumstances, will stand upon Record, as the most perfidious and treacherous Piece of Villany that ever was, or perhaps ever will be in the World.

Thus, Sir, it were very easy for me to go through every Paragraph of your Pamphlet; and to shew in particular how obliging you

you have been to me, in confirming and illustrating the Truth of all that I have insisted on. It must be acknowledged, Sir, that you have given the Remarks all the Reputation that you are able. And if any Man doubted of any Part or Branch of it before, I do not question but by your Book they have received abundant Satisfaction. But I cannot stay to enumerate all your Obligations: I hope this little will be sufficient for the testifying my Respects to you; and I fear a great deal too much for the Reader's Excuse and Pardon.

There is a small, but very useful, and interesting, addition to the first edition of this book, which is a list of the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text. This list is arranged in alphabetical order, and is a very convenient reference for the reader. It is a very useful addition to the book, and is a very interesting one. It is a very useful addition to the book, and is a very interesting one. It is a very useful addition to the book, and is a very interesting one.

REMARKS.

The first of these remarks is that the book is a very useful one. It is a very useful one, and is a very interesting one. It is a very useful one, and is a very interesting one. It is a very useful one, and is a very interesting one. It is a very useful one, and is a very interesting one.

REMARKS, &c.

S I R,

YOU tell me that *Dyer's News-Letter* was the first that acquainted you with the *Reverend Dean's* Sermon; That the Character he gives it, and the *Fine Strokes* he says were in it, tempted you to buy it, and read it: That now having read it, you very much *admire* it, and desire my Opinion concerning it, which I shall frankly give you.

In the first Place, I do perfectly Concur with you, and *admire* it too; though at the same time, it may be, I may as perfectly Disagree with you upon the Grounds and Reasons for which I admire it. For this same *Admiration* hath several different, nay contrary Objects: Any Thing that is Extraordinary either for its *Excellency*, or its *Meanness*; any *fine Strokes* of Truth, or Untruth; any Thing that is highly Agreeable, or highly Unfuitable to the Character of the Persons speaking, or spoken of, may equally move this Passion. There was a Time when sober and serious Men used to *admire* to see Divines say and unsay, and contradict themselves, as fast as they write; but that *Wonder* is of late much abated by its frequency. And therefore 'tis possible you may admire the Dean's Performance in one Sense, and I in another; though we both may *admire* it. However, what seems to me to be of that Strein you shall have presently, and then (if you please) you may compare it with your own Judgment; and if I have not the Luck to jump exactly with you in all Things, I think, notwithstanding that, I shall deliver the Sense of above three Parts of the Kingdom.

But before I enter upon the immediate Subject, The Dean's *single Sermon*; it may not be amiss a little to reflect on the Style of modern Sermons, which will be no Digression, but a proper Preface and Introduction to what follows. Now Sermons, Sir, you know are, or ought to be, very serious Things; and when Men are supposed

to speak the Mind of God to the People, and to direct their Consciences, they ought to confine themselves to the Rules of strict and sober Truth. Lavish and extravagant Expressions, and the Liberty of Poets and Orators, very ill become the Character of those who Serve at the Altar: And (however some may Pride themselves in it) it equally dishonours God, and shames their Profession. But this Practice is never worse, and more fullsom, than when the Subject of it is *frail and fallible Man*: And when they find, or make Occasion to discourse of *Men* in their Sermons, one would think the subject Matter should teach them Moderation and Temperance, Decorum and Decency. For Man is a *weak, wilful, peevish, and proud Creature*; and when they see those Qualities Deify'd by vile and paltry Encomiums, every Man who hath Eyes in his Head sees through it, and laughs at it. *Men* are known well enough, and their Vices notorious; and it is not all the Harangues of a pert Flatterer that can make Men believe one Word of it, no more than he believes it himself. A little Discretion, without any other Vertue, would be apt to teach Men Caution on this Account: For the World is mutable, and the many Changes which we have seen with our Eyes make it not impossible but there may be one more; and it would be a terrible piece of Mortification, that these Men must be forced to Cry down what they now hastily Cry up; to translate their *Heroes and Phoenix's*, into *Tigers and Birds of Prey*. But Men of limber and pliable Consciences can easily do this; and the same Topicks, and Common Places (where there is no Honour nor Conscience to suit them to their proper Subjects) will fit all Cases, and Panegyricks, and Eulogies, and Satyrs, and Invec- tives, will agree to the same Subjects and Persons. if there be *Providence* in the Case, and as Dr. Sherlock wisely ob-

(a) *Pres. to the Case of Allegiance.* serves, (a) *No Man is forbid to grow wiser.* I know, Sir, you have heard of a certain Person that was

to have a Statue made; the Statuary said, That he had the Statue of *Cromwell*, and it was but putting a new Head to it, and it would do very well: And just so are these Men's Encomiums; the glorious Epithets of *Illustrious, Deliverer, Saviour*, if the Tide turns may be Cap'd with *Barbarous, Unnatural, Destroyer*. Alas! Sir, it is the same Man still, the Difference only lies in a few Words, which mean nothing, nor never were intended to mean any thing. And I will venture all the Skill I have in Men, That there is not one of these Men who are now so flush with their Oratory, but, if the Scene alters, will change their Note too, and load

load their new Saint with all the hard Names they can think of: For Words, you know, are voluble Things; and if a Man hath a Stock of them (if there be not a steady Principle to guide them) they will fly out upon all Occasions, and serve all Purposes. And so, Sir, if you please, you may transfer the Allusion of the *Statue* hither also; he will be the same Man still, only his *Mouth* will be a little alter'd. He was an Artist that made a Picture which upon a small turn was both an *Angel* and a *Devil*; but he was not the only Artist: For you shall see the same Thing done over again by the *Grave*, the *Judicious*, the *Wise*, (as they call one another.) Turn the Picture to one Side, to the Side of the *Sun*, with Prosperity and Greatness on the back of it, and 'tis an *Angel*, a *Hero*, a *Hercules*, and all the fine Things a Man can think on; but turn it the other way, and then 'tis a *Devil*, a *Nero*, a *Monster*: And to make it yet more piquant, put *Dutch* to all these, 'tis a *Dutch Devil*, a *Dutch Nero*, a *Dutch Monster*; and if there be any thing worse, 'tis even that too. And as *Swearing*, *Allegiance*, the Name *King*, mean one Thing in a State of Usurpation, and the clean contrary under a Lawful Government; so, I suppose, for the same prudent Reason, does *Glorious*, *Happy*, *Valiant*, *Deliverance*. These, and such like, you are not to understand in their proper Signification, but in the Dress and Language of the Times: They are only Expressions *de Facto*, and if you think they mean any more by them you are much deceived; For why, I wonder, should not they *Speak* as they *Swear*, and their *Words* as well as their *Oaths* have a temporary Meaning? However, Sir, you know that antiently *Heroes* and *Dæmons* were Synonymous, and Terms convertible: And why may not these Gentlemen call them by which they please, as they find occasion, and according to the Season?

In the mean time let us, if you please, a little consider the fine Knack these Gentlemen have got at Representation and Character; which you will find so luscious and termagant, as would shame even the Modesty of the Stage. But here I must caution you not to extend what is said to all, nor to apply it to any Persons to whom it does not belong: For I must tell you there is a Distinction to be made (and all wise Men distinguish them) between the old Church of *England Men*, who have taken the Oaths and Comply, and think they can acquit themselves by the Constraint and Force that is put upon them; but still retain their old Principles relating to the Monarchy and the Church, who are far the Best, the Wisest, the Honestest, and the most Numerous of the

Compliers.

Compilers. These, though they satisfy themselves in a compulsive Submission, yet are too generous and honest to Deify their Chains, and Glory in their Bondage. A Man who hath got a heavy Load on his Back must bear it as well as he can; but that is no Reason to celebrate the Burthen, and extol it to the Skies, and give immortal Honour to that which cripples him. These therefore you must pretermit, and they are particularly and expressly Excepted as no way Concerned in what follows. But then for your *St A---phs*, your *Til---ns*, *Ten---ns*, *B---rs*; your *Sh---ks*, *Pat---cks*, *W---ks*, *Fl---ds*: These are the fine Sparks that do all the Feats we are speaking of; who first themselves swallow the Morfels of *Usurpation*, and then dress it up with all the gawdy and ridiculous Flourishes that an Apostate Eloquence can put upon it. I shall not ransack all their Sermons; if you have a mind to such Stuff you may find them all on the Stalls, or among the Hawkers.

But to give you a Taste, there are Two ways which they all take in order to accomplish their End: The one is, to blacken all they can whom they think are not in their ungodly Interest, or obstruct it; the other is, to magnify and advance that Interest as much on the other hand; but both very shameless, and you shall have a Touch of both.

I. Their goodly Method of *Disparaging* and *Reproaching*. And this perhaps you may think foreign to the present Matter, which concerns their *Praising* and *Commending* Faculty: But however, this (though it seems the contrary Extream) is in Truth not so wide of the Mark; but like Lines drawn from the contrary Sides of a Circle, centers in the very same Point. For besides that, these were designed for *Shadows*, to set off the Picture they are shewing. There are some Men in the World who have not one fair Quality to be commended, and a Man cannot honestly say one good Word of them; and yet it is necessary for our purpose that they should be commended, and that very highly too. And what is to be done in such a Case? Why, when you cannot do it directly, you must go obliquely to your Matter; and that must be done by *Comparison*, which hath no positive Excellency of it self to admit of it. As for Instance, If I was to commend a *Hawk*, and in particular for its Mildness, Mercifulness, Compassion; That it is a Sweet-natur'd Bird, and a great Benefactor. Now to say this directly, and without any more ado, would look a little Scurvily, and Men would not easily swallow such a Character of a Bird of Prey: But then you must go to work artificially, and tell them, There is a terrible and rapacious

rapacious Eagle, that hath Talons as long as one's Arm, and will swoop up a whole Flock at once; and then your Hawk may look like a pretty and lovely Fowl, and the Liberty and Property of the Birds are in a hopeful Condition, though he eats Three or Four of them at a Breakfast, and pulls all the Feathers from the Backs of the rest. Now, Sir, according to this Method, if you have a Mind to see the Character of a Great Prince, thus it is in plain English: (a) Great Oppressor, Anti-christian Tyranny and Powers; and one who invades and usurps upon the Liberties of Europe.

This is in short, but if you will have it enlarg'd take it as follows; (b) The Pride of all his Glory hath been stain'd by Tyranny and Oppression, by Injustice and Cruelty, by enlarging his Dominions without Right, (I pray mark that) and by making War upon his Neighbours without Reason, or even Calumnious Provocation. And this in a more barbarous Manner than the most barbarous Nations ever did, carrying Fire and Desolation wheresoever he went, and laying waste many and great Cities, without Necessity, and without Pity. This is pretty well; but you may have it again in

other Words thus. That (c) Grand Oppressor, who hath endeavour'd to exalt his Nation by nothing but Fraud and Forgery, Perfidiousness and Perjury, by breaking his Faith, and violating Leagues and Solemn Treaties, by Wrong and Robbery; nay, by the utmost degree of Cruelty and Barbarity: Thus haughty Oppressor, I say, who hath ruin'd many other Countries as well as his own, hath highly affronted the Divine Majesty, as well as abus'd all Mankind with whom they had to do. Who have been so Atheistical, as to advance themselves by all manner of Falshood and Treachery — Injustice and Cruelty, having mock'd at those Ver-

ties, Truth and Honesty, &c. Once more, and then I have done: (d) Who does not descend to treat Embassadors villainously, but their Masters; deals with them all as Vassals, or as Children; does not cut off their Garments in the middle, but divests them of the Whole with mighty Scorn and Insolence; and cuts not off their Beards, but pares them to the Quick. Is not at War with all his Neighbours only, but with Faith and Honour, Truth and Justice, and Religion; who knows no distinction betwixt Right and Wrong — One in a Word, That hath almost all the ill Qualities of all the Ancient and Renown'd Sons of Violence, without the Shadow of their Virtues, or Pretence to any of their Merits.

(a) Dr. Sherlock before the Queen, June 17. 1691.

(b) Dr. Tillotson before the King and Queen, Oct. 6. 1692.

(c) Dr. Patrick before the King and Queen, Apr. 16. 1690.

(d) Mr. Fleetwood before the L. Mayor, Apr. 11. 1692.

These,

These, Sir, you must needs confess to be very high and extraordinary Flights, and cannot chuse but operate and subdue our Faculties, And entirely Perswade us : But here, I know you, will ask, *And Perswade us to what?* Why, that we in *England* are infinitely Happy and Easy ; That we know no Want, Poverty, or Calamity ; That those who have got the Government are the most Merciful, Just, and Righteous Persons in the World : For thus you must interpret their Words, or you mistake the *Preachers*. Now this, perhaps may be very Rhetorical ; but Rhetorick is a very dull Thing to perswade a Man contrary to what he feels. Sure these Men think they have got an Ascendant over our Senses as well as our Consciences : As if our real Oppressions and Miseries were nothing at all, or were transmuted into *Glories*, *Bounties*, and *Benefactions* ; because, forsooth, there are a People on this side the Line who are more oppressed and miserable : Just as if you should preach to a Man who hath his Fingers and Toes cut off, That he must not Complain, nor does he feel any Pain ; because there is a Man on the other side of the Water who cuts off Men's *Legs*, or *Heads* : Or just as if I should tell you, That your Neighbour *Lum*, and his Tutor *A. S.* are the honestest People in the World ; for that there is one *T. O.* who hath *swore* through an Inch Board, and *Evidence'd* : I know not how many to the Gallows, which the other only design'd ; and by *great Misfortune* were not able to effect. Alas ! Sir, real and positive Mischiefs will not diminish into Nothing, nor change their Natures by all the Degrees of Comparison ; and Wickedness is Wickedness, let the Comparison be what it will : And therefore suppose that all that these Men say were true, most of which is notwithstanding false, What is that to us ? We have Miseries enough at home, without crossing the Seas, and looking into other Countries. What do they tell us of the Furies and Scorpions of *France* ; when we have in *England* too many Snakes and Vipers, that suck our Blood, and sting us to Death ? Let the *French King* be as great an *Usurper* as these Men would have him, then that is the worse for him ; but never the better for us, who have *Usurpation* enough nearer hand to make all our Hearts ache. We know our own Oppressions, and feel them sufficiently : And 'tis a pleasant Business to plaister us over with an idle Tale out of the Pulpit, of Cannibals and Blood-suckers in the World of the Moon.

But since these Gentlemen are for the Terms of Comparison, if you please, we will follow them in their own way ; and I am very much mistaken, if their own Method does not turn upon them, and fly

fly directly in their Faces ; and those amiable Characters they designed for another Prince will, I doubt, much better become one nearer home.

In the first Place, they tell us, *This mighty Prince usurps upon the Liberties of Europe* : But methinks they might let *Usurpation* alone ; it is a very rank Word, and they all smell strongly of it. For what hath this mighty Prince done to merit this Glorious Title ? Why, if you consult Fact, He hath been a little uncivil to the *German* and *Spaniard*, and hath taken some Towns from them : But then if it be *Usurpation* to take a few Towns ; What is it, I pray, to take Three whole Kingdoms ? This, I suppose, may deserve some Supereminent Character : And if these Gentlemen will try their Faculty, they have Epithets enough ready to dignify and distinguish it. The *French King* had no *Father* to usurp upon, and therefore his Case is not altogether so meritorious : Besides, he hath offered to restore the *Towns* upon honourable Conditions ; which, as yet, I do not hear the *Order* is disposed to do. So that, it seems, this great *Leviathan*, in this Point, hath not an *Equal* indeed ; but it is because there is one in the World *much Greater* ; and as Great as he is, he must be forced to come behind him by many Degrees : And therefore I must needs subscribe to Dr. *Tillotson*, when he tells us, *That a Greater than he is here*. For whatsoever it may be with respect to other Vertues, it is most certain, That he far exceeds him in the Point of *Usurpation*. It must be confessed indeed, That these Gentlemen have given a tolerable Account of *Usurpation*, and have Stigmatized it too in their way ; but then they have mistaken the the Subject, by puzzling their Brains to find *him* in foreign Countries, when at the same they had *him* in their Eye ; as if the Vices of Travellers had been transplanted to the Pulpit, to talk of every Trifle abroad, and neglect Things greater and more remarkable at our own Doors. Our own Country is fruitful enough ; and surely in these days we need not go to *France* to look for an *Usurper*.

But perhaps it is not *Usurpation* in general that these Men are offended with ; and it is plain they love it as their Eyes, and have strein'd their Wits, their Pens, and their Consciences, to procure and support it : But *Usurpation* limited to a particular Case, as they call it, *Usurping upon the Liberties of Europe*. And this the same Reverend Doctor calls, *The Liberties of Mankind*, and all the rest have it over and over : So that it seems let the People have *Liberties* enough, and then the *Usurping upon Fathers and Thrones* is a very innocent, nay a very just and honourable

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nourable Undertaking. By this Doctrine, if the *French King* had borrowed half the Provinces of *Germany* from the Empire, and *Catalonia* and *Flanders* from the King of *Spain*, and at the same time had preserved the Peoples legal Liberties, or given them greater; he might have been reconciled to the Gentlemens good Grace, and have been called a *Saviour*, and *Deliverer* too. Whereas I always thought, That so far as one Prince seized and dereined the Rights of another, he was so far an *Usurper*, and so far guilty of Injustice; and whosoever join'd with him in the Acquiring, or supported him in the Possession, was involv'd in the Guilt, what use soever he made of his Power: But it seems if the People can make advantage of Usurpation, and share in the Spoil, 'tis very Holy and Glorious; and there is no Guilt sticks to a far Morfel, if these Gentlemen may but have their Parts of it. So that 'tis plain, by all their Harangues of *Liberty*, They mean their *Liberty* of being *Bishops* and *Deans*, the *Liberty* of satning and warming themselves under the Shadow of *Usurpation*: But if this be the *Glorious Liberty* they talk of, 'tis confin'd to themselves; the collective Body of the People are perfect Strangers to it. All the *Liberty* this Nation enjoys under this blessed Revolution, is a *Liberty* of giving Seven or Eight millions Year after Year, and a *Liberty* of losing as much more; a *Liberty* of being first made Poor, and then Famished and Starved; a *Liberty* of having our Brethren and Country-men sent into foreign Countries to be knockt on the Head; a *Liberty* of being Scorn'd by all Mankind, as the most Treacherous and Perfidious Nation in the World; and last of all, a *Liberty* of being Impoverished beyond Repair, and of being Ruin'd for ever. These, and such as these, are now our *Glorious Liberties*; and I defy the *Partist* of them all to shew me any other *Liberty* besides, as the direct and immediate Fruits of the *Revolution*, which every one of these certainly is, and which no Man can have the Face to deny.

Another goodly Character they bestow on the *Grand Oppressor* (as they call him) is (as Dr. *Patrick* hath it) That *he advances himself by breaketh his Faith, and violating Leagues and Solemn Treaties*. Now this is certainly sufficiently Evil in whomsoever it is: All the Doctor's Expressions of *Perfidious*, *Fraud*, *Forgery*, *Robbery*, and I know not how many more, do not sufficiently intimate the Vileness of it, only he hath a little mistaken his Man, as he is very apt to do; but if he had pleas'd he might have found a much fitter Subject. For 'tis plain, That this saps the very Foundation of the *Revolution*, and in the first Conduct and Management of it.

There

There never was in the World, and no History can parallel, such a perfidious and notorious Violation of *Faith, Leagues, and Solemn Treaties*. For I pray, good Sir, was not King *James* at that time in perfect Peace and Amity with the *States* of the *United Provinces*? And this in pursuance of former *Leagues* and fresh *Ratifications*: So that if the Doctor please, he may take his *Perfidious and Fraud* again, and lay them on the right Horse. But this is not all: The King had then an *Embassador* residing among them, and when he heard of their vast Preparations, he remonstrated to them his Suspicion by his *Embassador*; and to give him Satisfaction, they gave him *Solemn Assurance* that they were not design'd against *England*. So that here we have both *Solemn Leagues, and Solemn Assurances*; and yet immediately after, and at the first Opportunity, (I suppose to shew how they could keep these Sacred Bonds) they sent over an Army to hunt him from his Throne and Kingdom. If therefore you are for the *Violation of Leagues and Treaties*, this is a Master-piece; here you have it in the fowlest and most aggravating Circumstances, and all the Records of Villany cannot shew us such another. The *Revolution* is the Issue and Off-spring of it: It was begun upon *breach of Faith*, and in good Truth it fully resembles its *Parent*; and hath all the Features and Lineaments of the basest *Perfidiousness* and *Treachery* the World ever saw. The *Father* of it was *breach of Leagues, and of the publick Faith of Nations*; and the *Mother* was *Rebellion and Perjury*; and from these is sprung a blessed Reformation compounded of all Four.

Another Character we have, and that is, That he makes War upon his Neighbours without Reason or Colour of Provocation. Now 'tis certain that the *Reasons* ought to be very Just, and the *Provocations* very Great, before a War can be justified which will cost so many Lives on both Sides: But for all that, I do not think every Pragmatical Theologue is qualified to judge of *Reasons* and *Provocations*, how wise soever he may think himself. These often lie as deep as *Mysteries of State*, and the Councils of Princes, which are quite out of their Sphere; and they are no more able to understand them, than they can fathom the Councils and Intrigues of all the Princes of Europe. So that whether the *French King* hath, or hath not, any *Reasons* or *Provocations*, they are very slipant with their Tongues, but they know nothing of the Matter: And 'tis equal Weakness and Confidence to pronounce peremptorily of what they neither do, nor can understand. However, if he wanted *Reasons* and *Provocations*, these Gentlemen have taken extraordinary Care

to supply that Defect by loading him with all the foul and nasty Language they can think on; and discharging on his Person all the rank Venom that is in their Breasts. And since we are upon *Provocations*, methinks these Men should give us a *Reason* why they have been *provoked* to such unchristian, unmannerly, and scandalous Expressions of a Great Prince, which a modest Man would never be provoked to say of a Porter, or the meanest Varlet on the Face of the Earth. Which plainly shews from whence they had their Divinity; and what fine Doctrin we are to expect from Sermons stufft with the boldest Reproaches of *Crown'd Heads* that were ever heard among Christian People. For, as I take it, that Precept *not to speak evil of Dignities*, is not limited to a Country, or particular Sovereignty, to those only who have immediate and direct Authority over us; but extends to all lawful Sovereigns and Governors. And though we owe no Allegiance to a Foreign Prince, yet certainly we owe him Decency, Respect and Modest, let him be Friend or Enemy. The Station and Character he holds, and the Image he bears, and the Authority he is invested with (which Dr. Sberlock tells us is always God's Authority) are Things too Sacred to be Lampoon'd and Burlesqu'd; to be treated with Infamy and Scorn by every petulant Tongue. But let these moderate Gentlemen use their Tongues as they please, and Rail as long as they will (and perhaps they may think they have a *Latitude* in that too) they have a very good Will at it, but are very unfortunate withal; for it always comes home to them, and turns directly upon them, as in the present Instance; Whether the *French King* hath some *Reasons* and *Provocations*, with respect to the rest of his Neighbours, or none at all? 'Tis as plain as the Sun, That he hath both *Reasons* and *Provocations* too, with respect of us: For if these Gentlemen will look again, they will find that he did not first make War upon us, but we made War upon him; and that, I suppose, will go for a *Reason* and *Provocation*. And 'tis extremely Ridiculous to talk of no *Reasons*, or Colour of *Provocation*, for entering into a War, when we began it our selves: And if *Reasons* and *Provocations* must be assign'd, they ought to come from the *first Aggressors*. And it will certainly near concern the Consciences of *some*, to have some good *Reasons* ready for the entering into so expensive and dangerous a War; or else all the Blood that hath been unnecessarily spilt will lie at their Doors, and they will have a large Account to make for Ravaging and Depopulating three Rich and Flourishing Kingdoms, merely to satisfy their insatiable Pride and Ambition. I

know

know well enough that the *Protestant Religion* is talkt on, But that is meer Pretence, Sham, and Nonsense; a Stale to delude the People, and to cover something else: For besides that the greatest part of the Confederates are rank Papists (and 'tis the utmost Folly to think they would enter into a Confederacy for the Security of the *Protestant Religion*.) The two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* are as good Protestants (and a little better than those who so much pretend it;) yet had Wit enough to keep themselves out of the Fire: And I defy the Wit of Man to assign any more than one Reason, and one Provocation, of this terrible War on our side, and neither of them *Just, Honourable, or Necessary*. The Reason plainly is the skeening our Neighbours the *Dutch*; and our Men and Money must be sent thither for no other Reason, but to save their Pockers, and their Skins; and, I doubt, this will never pass for an *honourable Reason* among *Englishmen*: That 'tis worth such prodigious Quantities of *English* Treasure and Blood to fight their Battles, and secure their Frontiers; or that *Loo* is such a delicate Palace, that Three Kingdoms must be Beggar'd and Exhausted to the very Bones, merely to preserve a Prince's *Hunting, and his Liberty to eat Bread and Cheese with a Farmer's Daughter*. Thus much for the Reason of this consuming War; and I will leave any *Englishman*, who hath not lost his Reason as well as his Conscience, to judge of it. The next is the *Provocation*; and this, I know, will a little puzzle you to find it out: But I can easily satisfy you, It was that King's entertaining King *James*. This, it seems, was so terribly *Provoking, and Exasperating*, that our *Heroe* could not bear it; but he must be persued with Desolation and Vengeance, and nothing can expiate but his Crown: For you may remember, that at the beginning of the War, nothing less would satisfy us, but setting up our Standard at *Paris*, and humbling the *Monsieur*. As if because they had driven him from his Kingdoms, he must, for that Reason, be made a Vagabond in the Earth; and those who had *Abdicated* him from his Throne, would (if they might have had their Will) have *Abdicated* him from all the World too: And because they had hunted him from his own Home, he must have no retiring Place, nor where to lay his Head; which is neither more nor less, than that we did not think it convenient to Kill him our selves, but should be glad with all our Hearts to have him Starved Abroad. For 'tis an infallible Maxim, That he who *Usurps* another Prince's Throne, can never be at rest so long as the *Right Owner* is Living. And now, Sir, you have this goodly *Provocation*, which

is

plainly founded in the Injuries we our selves have done ; and the whole Nation must be sacrificed to Revenge. that generous Pity and Compassion which hath been shewn to an *Oppressed Prince*, and whom we have infinitely wronged. Whatsoever therefore the *Flatterers* talk of Oppression, Fraud, Robbery, &c. 'tis none of *these* that offend us : 'Tis not his Oppression, but his *Piety*, is the Ground of this immortal Hatred ; and 'tis manifest to all, That the Noble, Princely, and Christian Succour he hath afforded our injur'd King, is more *provoking* than all the *Oppressions* in the World.

To this may be added what immediately follows in the same Sermon. *And this (making War) in a more barbarous Manner than the most barbarous Nations ever did, carrying Fire and Desolation, and laying waste many and great Cities, without Necessity, and without Pity.* These indeed are the terrible Effects of War, but then they are as common as they are terrible : For whatever our Author may talk of a *more barbarous Manner than the barbarous Nations ever did* ; there never was any War in the World where there was not more or less of this. And there is nothing more common than for angry Victors to raze Towns, and plunder the Inhabitants. And had our Author understood any History, or knew how to speak Truth, he might have read, That nothing was more Cruel than the Wars of *barbarous Nations* ; and without going any further, he might have found in his *Bible*, had he thought it for his Purpose, That *Nebuchadnezzar* not only burnt *Jerusalem*, but carried away the whole Nation of the *Jews* Captive : And it was usual in those days for Conquerors to drive a whole Country, and replant it with their own Native Subjects ; and the Conquest of *Samaria* is another dreadful Instance of it. Which (as I take it) is a far greater *Waste and Desolation* than firing a few Towns, and destroying a Crop of Corn, or some Vineyards. But perhaps our Author had not his *Bible* ready, but might think it more suitable to his Character to inform himself from *News-Books*, and *Welwood's Observer* ; although another Man in a less Post than an *Archbishoprick* might have thought *that Book* as fit to be consulted with in the making *Sermons*, as the *London Gazette*, or the *Huerlem Courant*. However this plainly shews these Gentlemen's admirable Faculty at *Comparison* : They cannot forbear it, although at the same time they speak not one Word of Truth. But *Comparisons* (whether true or false) make a great Noise, and are *Fine Strokes*, (as *Dyer* says;) and Divines have something else to do, nor does it become the Place to deliver *plain Truth* in their *Court Sermons*. In the mean
time

time 'twould be well if all Wars could be managed without *Waste* and *Desolation*, but that never was, nor ever will be; and perhaps it is impossible it should be: And whatever the Cases are that may seem to require it, I do not think that any *Preacher* of them all so fit a Judge of *Necessity* and *Pity*, as the Generals of Armies, who know much better than they what it is that an Enemy can make Advantage of. And, for my own part, I believe their lodges in the Breast of a Great and Valiant General, a Thousand times more *Generosity* and *Pity*, than in a *Smooth-tongued Divine*, who can preach up *Moderation* when it is a popular Theme; and yet turn out a most Reverend Prelate (much better than himself) from his Legal and Rightful Possession, in a most violent and *barbarous* Manner. But let that be as it will, the *Comparison* turns home upon them: Let the *French King* have carried as much *Fire* as they please; let him have laid Waste as *many and great Cities* as they think good; the *Confederates* have not been behind hand with him in *good Will*, and have executed it too as far as they had Power; and if they have not altogether so fully performed it, it is not owing to their *Pity*, but to the Conduct and Power of their Adversary. If a Man has a great Mind to cut my Throat, and very heartily Attempts it, but through my own Care, Vigilance, or Courage, he is not able to do it; I suppose I am not beholding to his Virtue, but to his Impotency. However, it is not very long since we have given sufficient Instance of our great *Pity* in this kind; and the last *Summers Expedition* will abundantly exemplify our mighty Virtue in forbearing to burn Towns *without Necessity or Pity*, when we attempted upon *La Hogue* and *Brest*: And because we could do nothing there, for very Anger we bombarded *Diep*, and burnt it to the Ground; a defenceless Maritim Town, and which was neither a Harbour for Men of War, nor Garison for Soldiers, nor held any Magazine for Provisions and Ammunition, and (which is more than all this) was the only Seat left for the *Protestants* in *France*, and where they were very Numerous. And you cannot but remember what care was taken to publish and magnify the Bravery of this great Exploit, of consuming a weak Town, and firing the poor *Protestants* out of their Houses; Whereas had it been never so useful, the Expedition cost us Five times the Value of it; and it is great Matter of Triumph indeed, to boast of the Damage of a Penny we have done to an Enemy, though, by the doing of it, we our selves sustain the Loss of Five Shillings. However, from these Premises this Conclusion follows; That if the firing of Towns *without Necessity*

say and without Pay, be more Barbarous than Barbarity it self, we must take this Honour to our selves, for it plainly lies at our own Doors.

But since we are upon *Barbarity*, I will give you such an Instance of it as no Age, History, nor Nation (Barbarous or not Barbarous) can parallel. What do you think of *hanging* Prisoners taken in War in cold Blood, upon the Pretence and by the Formality of Law? You may try your Reading, and see if the most *Barbarous Nations*, or the most *Barbarous Men*, did ever do the like. And yet I need not tell of Three who were actually *hang'd*, and several are now in *Newgate*, and under Condemnation: I shall not trouble you with the whole Case; all the Nation knows it, and all good Men abhor it. It is sufficient to obseve, That not one, nor all together of the various *Hypotheses* these Gentlemen go upon, that will excuse it from down-right *Murder*: Let it be *Abdication*, or *King de Facto*, or *Conquest*, or *Providence*, or whatever their winding Inventions, and changeable Consciences, can think on; it is upon all *Murder*, and the most *Barbarous Murder* under the Sun. For the single Question is no more but this, Whether a Subject following the Fortune of his Prince, and never acknowledging the Authority of any other, I say, Whether such a Person fighting under the Commission of his own Prince, or his Allie, be an *Enemy*, or a *Pirate* and *Traytor*? Let these Men, and all their Party together, try their Skill, and consider but their own *Hypotheses*, and excuse or palliate it if they can: But it does and will remain upon Record, the most hideous Cruelty, and the greatest Violation of the common Rights of Mankind, that ever was heard of. I Scorn so much as to take Notice of that Pamphlet wrought in Justification of it: It discovers so much of the *Fool* and the *Knave*, that it is impossible any Man should be imposed upon, who has not as high a Degree of these Qualities as the Author himself. In the mean time, the true Reason of this makes it Ten times worse; and that is, they were not Comprehended in the *Cartel* between the *French* and *Confederates*. As if in the Case of *Blood*, and the Lives of Men, Princes were not to be determined by the common Rules of Equity; the Laws of War, and of Nations; and the universal Consent of Mankind; but by particular *Cartel*. At this Rate, if there was no *Cartel* nor Agreement between Enemies (which is very rare) you might justly and honorably hang up in cold Blood as many Prisoners as you could take, which is *Waste* and *Desolation* with a vengeance. One would think that the Laws of God and Nature,

and

and the common Principles of Humanity, might be sufficient to restrain Men, as well as particular Covenants, which are Antecedent and Superiour to all such Covenants, and can never be cancell'd by them; and, in truth are more Sacred and Inviolable than all the *Cortels* in the World. The great *Leviathan* himself (as they call him) might have taught them more Temperament and Humanity; who at several times, and particularly in the last Battel in *Piedmont*, took Duke *Schomberg*, and many others of his own *Native Subjects*, Prisoners; and yet very honourably Released the Duke, and not one of the rest were Condemned either to the Gibbet or the Gallies. And yet the Case was very different, and all the Advantages were on the Side of these poor Men, excepting only the Qualities of the Judges. But I am perfectly weary of this Tragical Subject, and which no Man can think of without the greatest Horror.

The last good Quality these Gentlemen take notice of is this; That he does not treat *Embassadors* villainously, but their Masters; does not cut off their Garments to the middle, but divests them of the Whole; and cuts not off their Beards, but pares them to the Quick. By this, Sir, you are to understand that the French King is a clean Shaver; that when he takes Princes in hand, he leaves them neither Hair, nor Nails, nor Flesh on their Backs; nay, 'tis much if he has not a Slice of their very Bones. But the plain English of this frothy and boyish Ribaldry is this, That he divests them of their Dominions, takes away from them all that they have, and sends them into foreign Countries to beg their Bread, and live upon the Charity of well disposed People. Now, Sir, I desire you by all means to shut your Eyes, and not to look about you; for if you do, upon such a Character, you will be terribly tempted to think upon Somebody, or other within the four Seas. For, as I remember, King James sat upon the Throne of his Ancestors, was himself a wealthy Prince, and govern'd Three rich and flourishing Kingdoms: I remember likewise, that this very Prince was divested of his Crown, and of all that he had besides in the World; and he, his Queen, and Princely Babe, were forced to fly into a Foreign Land for Livelihood, Shelter and Security. Now if Mr. *Fleetwood* will please to tell us who did all this, there he will certainly find his Man, that does not descend to treat *Embassadors* villainously, but their Masters; that divests them of the Whole, and pares them to the Quick. And to compleat his Character he may add, if he please, That pares the People as well as the Prince to the Quick. For these Three unhappy Nations.

Nations were never par'd so near as they have been by a *Dutch Pruning Knife*, since the beginning of the World.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a Taste of these Gentlemen's *Inverecrue* Faculty, and you see how fairly they have handled it to the Honour of their Master; they name another Person indeed, but it is not whom they name, but whom they describe, and the World will apply it. Sarry is a very keen Thing indeed, but then it hath two Edges, and cuts both ways; and when they give such broad *Innuendoes*, People will be tempted to think, that it is merely Theatrical, They personate one Man, and mean another: And I doubt they will be suspected of deep and dangerous Designs against the Government, for thus terribly reflecting on the *Valiant Heroe* through the Sides of the *French King*.

And the truth is, Their Sermons are nothing else but so many Scandalous Reflexions upon him, on another Account. And they have but little consulted his Honour, or Fame, when they can before his Face, in that gross Manner, traduce and bespatter his Enemy, and with whom he is actually at War: A brave and generous Adversary will fight his Enemy fairly and valiantly, but scorns and abhors these mean and sordid Acts of Reviling and Reproach; and whatever they talk, they certainly have a very mean Opinion of him, when they think they can divert and gratify him with perpetual Reproaches and Aspersions; or that he can have Patience to hear every day from the Pulpit such a Peal of dirty Language. Suppose now a conceited *French Fryar*, who had a mind to get Preferment, should get up at the *Louvre*, and harangue to that King in this Manner.

"There is a Prince in the World who hath endeavour'd to advance himself by Fraud and Forgery, by Perfidiousness and Treachery, and all the worst Arts in the World; who, at his first setting out, and assuming an high Post of Dignity in his own Country, it was by Two of the most hideous Crimes that Mankind knows. First, by *Perjury*, having himself directly, and in so many Words, *Swore* that he would not take it; and then by *Murder*, in a most barbarous and cruel Manner, cutting off Two of the best Patriots of his Country for opposing it. One, who with the greatest Ease breaks through all the Bonds of Nature, Humanity and Relation, to gain his Ends: And while he was Courting the *Daughter*, at the same time was Undermining the *Father*, and laying Trains to ruin and deprive him of his *Birth-right*. One, who hath ever been harbouring

"and

and cherishing *Rebels* and *Malcontents*, to Tet a peaceable Kingdom in a Flame, on purpose that he might come and make a Prey of it for himself. One, who hath so little Sense of Publick Faith, or Solemn Treaties, or Tenderness for the Blood of Men, That when he thought he had the Advantage, he actually fought an Army with the *Articles of Peace* in his Pocket. One of that prodigious and greedy Ambition, That he tramples upon all that is Sacred, upon Right, Justice, and the very Neck of his Father, to obtain a Throne. One, whose Gratitude is equal to his Justice, and proves false even to his Makers and Benefactors; and when he hath done his Business by their Assistance, he treads them under Foot, and discards them. There was a Time when a Pair of *Jack Boots* had very well deserved of him, whom he now despises and scorns; and hath raised a couple of Mongrels over his Head. One, in fine, who is so much delighted with Reproaches, Scandals, and Defamations upon Great Princes, That he bribes and hires a Company of *Foul-mouth'd* Theologues of prostitute Consciences to recreate him once a Week, with all the nauseous Scum and Filth they are able to rake together; and then puts his own Stamp upon it, and publishes it to the Kingdom by *SPECIAL COMMAND*, which is the same Thing as if he had said it himself: For though the Sermon or Words are not his, the Publication is; and he becomes a Party to all the opprobrious Expressions, by whose particular and immediate Authority they are Printed and made Publick. That is, These Gentlemen lay all these vile Things to him, and he speaks them to all the Kingdom. Now, Sir, what Resentment do you think this Preachment would meet at the hands of the *French King*? I shall not undertake to answer that Question; but this I can tell you, That if he have no more Generosity nor Princely Vertues than other People, the Preacher would certainly be made a *Bishop*, or at least a *Demon*.

Thus much for the Character they give of a *Great Prince*; but there are other People, of an inferior Rank, that they have an taking Foot at; some call them *Jacobites*, and others *Non Jurors*. But there they are as hard put to it as ever Men were; they would be glad with all their Hearts that the People should have an ill Opinion of them, but then they do not know how to bring it to pass. They have the same good Will, but there is some difference in the Subject. The *French King* is a great way off, and they think the People will rather believe them, than trouble themselves to take

a long Journey to disprove them : But these Men live among us, and their Principles and Practices are well known, and therefore they cannot be so copious on this Subject : However you shall hear what they do say, and besides some few canting Expressions, as *Some amongst us*, and *Kind Friends to the Liberties of Europe* (as Dr. Sherlock hath it) which perhaps may pass for Jibes or Jest ; but sure they do not expect that the very lowest of the People should take them for Arguments, or Proofs. All the rest is comprehended in what follows.

The First is, *The paucity of their Numbers*. This is the common Topick, and runs through them all ; and yet there is not one of them but knows full well, that this means nothing at all. That *Truth* was never tryed by Polling, and telling of Noses ; that *Numbers* were never any Evidence of a Good Cause : As if the Doctrines of Religion, and Points of Conscience, were to be measur'd like Armies, by the Strength of their Numbers. At this rate the *Alcoran* will vie with the *Gospel*, and *Turcism* will be not only better than *Popery* (as Father T. hath it) but even than *Christianity* it self. This therefore is nothing else but Cheating and Deluding the People, instead of Informing and Instructing them. And they are hard put to it sure, when to save their own Credit, and to blast others, they are forced so frequently to inculcate such an Argument, which they themselves in their own Consciences ; (if they have any) know to be none at all.

The next is, That as they are few, so those few are blind, and cannot see *Providence* (as Dr. Tillson hath

Sermon before the King and Queen, Octob. 27. 1692. it) * *God has of late visibly made bare his Arm in our behalf, though some are still so blind and obstinate that they will not see it.* And here we have

got another *Turkish* Argument : Sure these Gentlemen can find no Reasons for their purpose in the *Bible* ; but however if *Mahomet* has any, they will never want. For if *Providence* be an Argument, the *Great Turk* will be better able to plead it from the Foundation of that Religion, than any, or all the *Christians* in the World : For I am very sure *Christianity* never got Footing in any Kingdom by *Dispossessing* or *Rebelling* against the Lawful Governors, let them be of what Religion they would ; but by the contrary Methods of *Patience* and *Suffering*. And therefore we honestly confess, That we cannot see that the *long Sword* is a *Christian Argument*, nor fit to be made use of by any but *Infidels*. Our Author himself but eight Lines before says, *That near Success*

is certainly one of the worst Arguments in the World of a Good Cause: So it seems we are so very Blind that we cannot See the worst Argument in the World to be the very best. And if that be our Fault, I doubt we shall never mend it, till we get not only their Spectacles, but their Consciences too. But if Successes be an Argument so very bad, What is it that these Gentlemen would have us to See? We are not so very Blind but we See the Successes they talk on: We See Usurpation in the place of Right, and we See God's Hand in this too; in sending Afflictions and Punishments upon a Protestant People for their Rebellion and Apostacy: We See further that they have a very bad Argument to manage; and they affront the Divine Providence, as well as abuse the People, by perpetually insinuating into the illiterate Multitude such Arguments which themselves acknowledge to be the worst in the World. Our Author indeed tells us, (*ib. p. 32.*) *That the Cause must first be manifestly Just, before Success can be an Argument of God's Favour to it, and Approbation of it.* Now 'tis certain that every Cause that is manifestly Just hath God's Favour and Approbation; whether that Cause hath external Success or no, or whether the Persons engaged in it be prospered by Divine Providence; which makes it as clear as the Light, that the Distinction is to be made not from Providence, and outward Successes, but from the Justice of the Cause: And the Oppressed, notwithstanding all the Harangues these Men make of visible Providences, may be far more Righteous than their Oppressors. And I am very certain that this Man, who thus accuses us of Blindness for not seeing of Providences, hath not said one single Word to convince us, or any rational Man, of the Justice of his Cause, and much less of the manifest Justice of it. And all that he does say, you have in those two Hypothetical Propositions as it immediately follows; — *If the Cause of true Religion, and the necessary Defence of it against a false and idolatrous Worship, be a good Cause, ours is so.* Again, — *If the Vindication of the common Liberties of Mankind against Tyranny and Oppression be a good Cause, ours is so.* This is what our Author offers to make his Cause appear manifestly Just; and in truth all that he offers on that Head. And yet both his Propositions are notoriously and scandalously False. For you must know, that by the necessary Defence of Religion, he does not mean a Defence by the Words of Truth and Sobriety, by Meekness, Patience and Suffering, which were the Defence of the first Christians; but a Defence of Swords and Guns; a Defence by Arms, which is pure and perfect *Allegiance*, and the Doctrin of the *Mafia*, and roots up the Foundation of Christianity. For

if Religion may be defended by Arms, it may also be propagated by them; and for Men to talk of defending their Religion, and securing their Consciences by Arms, is a fit Doctrine only for such *Hypocritical Consciences*, who can hold their Principles no longer than they are backed with Secular Power. And this is yet Ten times worse when 'tis applied to justify Usurpation, and the Rebellion of Subjects under a Prince of another Religion; which is plainly the Case our Author drives at: For then he might know, That it is not only a *Good Cause*, but sufficient *Authority*; 'tis not only a *Good End*, but *Lawful Means* also, that will warrant the entering into Arms; all these must concur to justify a War, and yet there is neither of these in this Case. For though true Religion be the best Cause in the World, yet it never was, nor ever will be, a sufficient Cause to take Arms upon; and God never gave Authority to a Foreigner, especially one who is not a Sovereign Prince, to call another Prince to Account for his Religion, much less to make War on him on that Account; and God, nor our Laws, ever gave Subjects the Power of the Sword to defend themselves, and much less their Religion, by Arms and downright Rebellion: And therefore the Conclusion is the direct contrary to that of our Author; That if the *Cause*, the *Authority*, the *Means*, be all and every one of them *Unjust*, then their *Cause* is so, and the Case is the very same with respect to the other *Proposition*: But to make short work of it, The *Impiety* and *Falshood* of both these Propositions is plainly and *irrefragably* demonstrated from these following Questions. Was not the Religion of our Saviour, and his Apostles, the *true Religion*? And were not their Supreme Governors at that time *Idolaters*, and the Religion of *Heathen Rome*, *Idolatry*? In like manner was not the whole Nation of *Judea*, and all the *Roman Empire*, at that time under great *Tyranny* and *Oppression*, (as *Tyranny* means the Exercise of illegal and arbitrary Power?) Let these Questions be but fairly and honestly answered, and it will put an end to all *Rebellious Hypotheses*; and in particular directly answer all and every one of the *Assertions* and *Arguments* of these Gentlemen. And for the Two first Questions they answer themselves; and for the Third, let Dr. *Barnes* answer, who in plain terms (in his *Paraphrase* Letter, p. 9. 11, 12.) asserts, That the very *shew of Freedom* that was left the *Jews* was extinct after the Death of *Herod*; That *Julius Cesar* and *Augustus* became the *Usurpers* of the *Liberties* of their Country; That the *Design* *Tiberius* pursued was to overthrow all that was left of their *Freedom*, and to rob the People of such as their *Liberties* as

yet remained, which was yet, more bare fac'd and black under Caligula. This is the direct Case of both the Doctor's Propositions; and perhaps in as severe Circumstances as the World ever saw. Here was *true Religion* in opposition to *Idolatry*, and under the Power of it: Here was *Liberty* Opposed to, and under the Oppression of *Tyranny*. And I hope these Gentlemen will grant that our Saviour, and his Apostles, had as much Care of *Religion*, as much Zeal against *Idolatry*, and were as Tender of the *Liberties of Mankind*, as any of them all. And yet they determine the Case in plain Opposition and Contradiction to these Men: For instead of *True Religion* fighting against *False and Idolatrous Worship*; instead of vindicating *Liberty* against *Tyranny*, we have the clean contrary; and both *Doctrine, Precept, Example*, teaching us to obey, submit to, not to resist, *Idolatrous and Tyrannical Powers*. And 'tis very remarkable, That 'tis in his *Epistle to the Romans*, that is, to those very People, and in these very Circumstances, that *St. Paul* does so expressly and particularly injoin these Duties. This Gentleman is very pleasant with us, and rallies us for being *Blind*, and cannot see bare fac'd Providences: And to give him a Cast of his Metaphor, We are indeed so *Blind* that we do not See any Reason to prefer the Assertions and Determinations of any *Usurping and Apostate Bishop*, before those of our Saviour and his Apostles; but then we are not so *Blind* but we can See what all the World both Sees and talks on: We See, as well as other People, their *Shame*, their *Infamy*, their *Apostacy*, and *intolerable Confidence*, not only to obtrude these scandalous Doctrines upon us, but to contradict in express Terms their own Doctrines and Assertions. For this very Man hath delivered a Doctrine as directly contrary to this as Words can express; and that upon a very solemn and serious Occasion, when he was to direct and settle the Conscience of a *Dying Lord*. And he had in his Life-time been often and earnestly called upon to reconcile it to his present Opinion, and Practices; but he could never be prevailed upon to undertake it. And this is the Case of them all; they have *Confidence* enough to talk over and repeat their new Doctrines, but will neither answer our Arguments, nor their own. And neither the Clamour of the *Jacobites*, nor their own Consciences, nor the Satisfaction of the People, nor to clear their own Reputation from so foul a Scandal, could ever yet persuade *Dr. Patrick* to answer his *Paraphrases*, *Dr. Stillingfleet* his *Preface to the Jesuits Loyalty*, *Dr. Burnet* his *Dialogues*, *Dr. Sherlock* his *Case of Resistance*, his *Sermons*, &c. They have indeed advanc'd themselves to Poits of Pre-

ferment by clean contrary Doctrines, which they *Preach*, and *Preach* over and over; but the other old Doctrines stand still Uncancelled, and have not been Delivered away by any direct Act and Deed. They own and preach up other Doctrines; but they will neither formally renounce these, nor yet reconcile them to their new Opinions and Practices: And there is good Reason for both; to reconcile them is impossible, and to renounce them inconvenient. For there may a Time come when such Doctrines may be in Fashion again, even as heretofore.

The last Thing that is taken Notice of concerning these Non-Jurors, is their Ingratitude, their horrible Ingratitude: For thus Dr. Tillotson acquaints his Auditory, * *To whom by too many among us, the most unworthy and unthankful Returns have been made—that ever was made to so great and generous a Benefactor.* Now the Doctor

does not tell us who he means by this *too many among us*; but sure he cannot mean those who have given him so many Millions: For one would think they have been sufficiently Thankful, except the Doctor thought they could not express their Gratitude, unless they had given him their Bodies and their Souls too. And therefore most certainly he means the poor *Jacobites* (as they call them.) Well, I perceive that a *Few* of these are *too Many*, (for the *Fewness* of their Number is one Argument;) but it seems they cannot be contented to be a *Few*; but they must also be *most unworthy, unthankful*, in not considering the large and ample Benefactions bestowed upon them; by taking away from the *Clergy* their Preferments and Livelihoods, and from the *Laity* their Places and Employments, and for the additional Favour of paying *double Taxes*: One would think such Obligations as these, should make the hardest among them a little more Sensible and Thankful. Archbishop *Sancroft*, I doubt, was one of the ungratefulest Men in the World for not taking Notice of the great Kindness Dr. *John Tillotson* did him in Usurping his Place, and Turning him out of his House and Home. Was there ever such *ungrateful* Men heard of? That when there is such mighty Cause taken to oblige them in this Manner, and to win them; and yet they are so Peevish, Stubborn, and Obstinate, That they will neither *Swear*, nor keep *Fasts*, or *Thank-givings*, nor make *Addresses* to stand by—with their Lives and Fortunes. Upon the whole therefore, I find these *Jacobites* are a very odd Sort of Folks: For first of all, They are *Few* in Number: Secondly, They are *Blind* and cannot see Providences, nor contradi-

tradict themselves, and forsake their Principles, as fast as other People: And last of all, They are wretchedly *Ungrateful*, in being so very Foolish, as not to take the most real Injuries and Oppressions for the highest Obligations and Kindnesses in the World.

And thus I have shewed you their *Satyr* and *Invectives*; the next Branch of their Eloquence is *Panegyrick*, in which indeed they are not so Large and Copious, but full out as *Fulsom*, and *void of Truth*. I shall give you but an Instance or two, but by them you may judg of all the rest.

Now, Sir, if you purpose to lay down a Foundation for future Greatness, you must be Wise, and begin betimes, and never stick at *Flattering* the Person you intend to rise by, whatever his Merits or Performances are; for this shews your Inclination, as well as Ability, to serve a Cause. Thus, for Instance, you must tell the People at a *Thanksgiving* Sermon, That

* *This is the most illustrious House of Nassau and Orange, which God hath so highly honoured above all the Families of the Earth, to give a Check to the* * Dr. Tillotson at *Lincolns Inn, Jan.*

Two aspiring Monarchs of the West, and bold At- 31. 1688.

temptors upon the Liberties of Europe: To the One in the last Age, and to the Other in the present. As if the Princes of this valiant and victorious Line had been of the Race of Hercules, born to rescue Mankind from

Oppression, and to quell Monsters. How do you like this, Sir? It is thick and palpable, and you may even feel it: Such Stuff might do

pretty well in a Recorder's Speech, or from the Mouth of an Archdeacon, or a Killigrew; but from a Plump Divine, and out of the Pulpit,

'tis abominably nauseous, and turns the Stomach. Had he told that this Family had a Hand in the Revolutions of Europe, and

fought, or run away, as they found Occasion, Somebody or other might have believed it; but as he has laid it, 'tis meer Bounce, and

incredible Rhodomantade, and, in truth, he plainly Banters his Heroe. What harm hath this illustrious Family done him, to be re-

proach'd by him at this Rate? Had he nothing else to abuse them with, but Hercules's and Monsters, and being Honoured above all the

Families of the Earth? Commend me to the Nonconformist Woman; as the honest Preacher of the Two, who being desirous to see a

Great Prince, and being informed which was he, lift up her Hands with Admiration, and cried out, Good Lord! What great Things

God can do by such contemptible Means. But this, as it is gross Flattery, so it is so very exact and punctual Flattery, as not to have one

Word of Truth. For this illustrious House of Nassau, as illustrious as

it is, has never yet been so far honoured to check the King of Spain in the last Age, nor the French King in this. And (as I take it) there is some difference between *Quelling* Monsters, and *Breeding* them. It is true, the King of Spain was sufficiently *check'd* and *quell'd* in the last Age; but this great Work was a little too illustrious for the *Nassau's*, or any of their Family. It was the famous Queen *Elizabeth*, who put a stop to the growth of that *Monarch*, by the Destruction of the *Invincible Armada*, and by several famous Expeditions into Spain itself; and in good truth the *Nassau's*, and the poor distressed States, had been probably swallowed up by that Monarch, had it not been for the powerful Assistance both of Men and Money, which *She* gave them. And what I wonder made him forget Queen *Elizabeth* in a Case so glaring and clear, that all the World knows it? Why Queen *Elizabeth* had a long time been Dead and Buried; and to celebrate the Grave, though it be far the honestest and more generous way, yet it is but a cold Business, and will never edify. In the mean time, if he had not thought fit to be so just to her Memory, as to make an honourable mention of her, in a Case in which she made such a mighty Figure; he might however have been so just to Truth, as not to have *wrong'd* her, by ascribing that Honour to another which was peculiarly her own: And especially by ascribing it to such a Person, who was himself forced to take Shelter under her *Protection*; and whose then, and future Greatness, was in a great Measure, if not altogether, owing to her.

And just such another Piece of Truth is the Second Branch, of *quelling* the French King in this Age: I suppose by taking of *Mons, Namur, Charleroy*, and the two Battels of *Steenkirk* and *Landen*; these are terrible Instances of his being *quell'd* and *crush'd* for ever, and what he must expect when such illustrious Families, and the Race of *Hercules*, undertakes him. But I must do this Author Right, all these Things have been done since he *Preached* and *Published* his Sermon: And therefore you are not to understand this as *History*, and *matter of Fact*; but this *checking* and *quelling* is Visionary and Prophetick Language, expressing not what was done, but what would be done hereafter. In the mean time this Gentleman is very unlucky at *telling of Fortunes*, he had better have left this Province to his Friend *St. Asaph*, who possibly might have found Something in the *Revelations*; but all that I shall observe is, That there is a great difference between *Prophecy* and *Flattery*, the one is always true, the other never.

The

The next Thing you may take Notice of, is usher'd in with these Words, * *Behold a Greater than He is here.* And that his Auditory might be sure not to mistake him, he adds eight Lines after, I say, *Behold a Greater than He is here.* Which in the first Place is a very *Scandalous Use* of Scripture Expressions; which shews what Reverence they have, when they can with such assuming and reiterated Boldness apply these very Expressions to magnify a mortal Man, (and him none of the best in the World) which our Saviour himself us'd with respect to his own Person: But *Flattery* hath no Bounds, and there is nothing so Sacred, but must be press'd to serve it; and 'tis yet worse by many Degrees to translate them to such a Cause, in which there is not one tittle of Grammatical Truth, even abstracted from the Sacredness of the Expressions themselves. For *Greater* is a Term of Comparison, *And greater than who is here?* Why *Greater* than the French King. And are not you now abundantly satisfied that these Men will speak nothing but plain and evident Truth in their Sermons? He may say it, and say it, as often as he please; but there is not one single Man on the Earth who believes it, nor does he believe it himself. And especially as he hath laid the Comparison, for to make his own *Heroe* greater than him, he hath made the French King greater than in truth he is: For how Great do you think this Prince is? Thus you have it from the Doctor himself (*ibid.* p. 2. 8. & seq.) *A mighty Prince, who hath in Perfection all the Advantages -- who, in the Opinion of some, hath passed for many Years for the most Politick, and Powerful, and Richest Monarch that hath appear'd in these Parts of the World for many Ages; who has Govern'd his Affairs by the deepest and steadiest Counsels, and most refin'd Wisdom of this World. A Prince Mighty and Powerful in his Preparations for War, Formidable for his vast and well-disciplin'd Armies, and for his great Naval Force; and who hath brought the Art of War almost to that Perfection as to be able to Conquer, and do his Business, without Fighting; a Mystery hardly known to former Ages and Generations. And all this Skill and Strength United under One absolute Will -- Who commands the Estates of all his Subjects, and of all his Conquests, which hath furnish'd him with an almost inexhaustible Treasure and Revenue.* Perhaps, Sir, you think your self at Paris, and this Gentleman is flustering and abusing the French King, as he does his own Master. But you are very much Mistaken; for this is for nothing else but to bring in Four or Five Words, *Behold a Greater is here:* That is, *more Politick, Powerful and*

* *Dr. Tillotson before the King and Queen, Octob. 6. 1692.*

Rich, than the most *Powerful*, and *Richest* Monarch in these parts of the World. And so it seems his Councils are *deeper* than the *deepest*, *steddier* than the *steddiest*, and so forth. Well, this is *great*, indeed, who would have thought it? But there is one Thing a little more Natural, and that is *Conquering without Fighting*. This Art our *Heroe* must learn: For 'tis most certain that he must *Conquer* that way, or not at all; for he never yet was able to *Conquer with Fighting*. However, when Men are for Comparisons, they had as good do it to some Purpose. And when his Hand was in, he might have made him *greater* than all the *Superlatives* in the World; *wiser* than the *Wiseſt*, *better* than the *Beſt*, *more righteous* than the *Juſteſt*, and *humbler* than *Humility* it ſelf: For this might have been as ſoon ſaid, and as true as the reſt. And in truth he offers very fairly; for ſaith he, *And who hath made it the great ſtudy and endeavour of his Life, to imitate theſe Divine Perfections, as far as the Imperfection of human Nature in this mortal State will admit, and one who never ſaid or did an inſolent Thing.* And now is it poſſible for any Man to expoſe ſuch *nauſeous and rank Flattery* ſpoken to a Man's Face, and printed by *SPECIAL COMMAND*, and which the Sermon and Publication is a direct and full Confutation of? For a Man of clear and ſteddy Virtue, can never have the Patience to hear himſelf thus daub'd over, and much leſs to *Authorize* and *Command* the ſending his own undue and immoderate Praiſes round about the Kingdom. I do not know what *Notions* ſome Men may have of *Modesty*, or whether they think it a *Chriſtian Virtue*: However certainly it very well becomes *Divines*, and the *Pulpit*. And when they give themſelves up to *laſh out* in this manner, whether they advance other Men's Characters, to be ſure they *reproach* themſelves, and become the *Scorn* and *Indignation* of every wiſe and ſober Man. A *flattering Buffoon* is a ridiculous, mean, and contemptible Creature; but a *flattering Divine ſinks* above Ground, and is nothing but *Filth*, *Mire*, and *Dunghil*, ſending forth Fumes to choak and pollute the moſt Sacred Places and Exerciſes.

I do not deny but there may be made tolerable uſe of *Flattery* it ſelf, in ſuch Caſes when Men are too big, and too untractable, for plain and down-right *Admonition* and *Reproof*; perhaps, in ſuch Caſes, it may not be amiſs for other *Persons* beſides *Divines*, and for other *Places* beſides the *Pulpit*, to come at them as well as they can, and enter by that Door which is open. For Inſtance, poſſibly it might not be altogether unuſeful to tell a *Great Prince*, "That he was

"the

" the *Flower of Majesty*, the *Splendor of the Crown*, and the *Fountain*
 " of all *Princely Virtues* : For that in the first place, being himself of
 " the *Race of Great Kings*, and born to inherit the *Throne of Three*
 " flourishing *Kingdoms*, he took no *illegal* and *unnatural Steps* to
 " possess himself before the time ; but stay'd till *God*, and *Nature*,
 " and the *Laws*, had, with all the *Fairness* in the *World*, put the
 " *Crown* upon his *Head*. A Prince of that great *Meekness* and *Ha-*
 " *milisy*, that a *Throne* was no *Temptation* to him ; nor could he
 " be prevail'd to accept one that was not his *Birbright*, tho offered
 " him by the *greatest Impunity* by those who had the most *unquesti-*
 " *onable Right* to dispose of it. Of that *inflexible Justice*, that a *Flaw*, or a
 " *Doubt*, will make him startle ; and he looks upon those as the
 " worst of *Enemies*, who would persuade him to any Thing that
 " is not infinitely clear in *Point of Right*. Of that *tender Filial Piety*,
 " that being incorporated by *Marriage* into a *Royal Family*, he Ho-
 " noured his *Wifes Father* as his *own* ; and has done him no more
 " *harm*, than he would have done to his own *dear Natural Parents*.
 " upon the same *Opportunities*. One, who hath such a mighty
 " *Veneration for Truth*, that he scorns to *slander a Turk*, and much
 " less his own *Uncle* or *Father* ; that consequently he hath made
 " good, and punctually proved every Word of his *Revolutional De-*
 " *claration*, especially relating to the Prince of *W.* by a thousand
 " *Witnesses*. A Prince, in fine, of that *Zeal for Religion*, that he is
 " mindful of all the *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, but hath an
 " especial *Regard* to the *FIFTH*, the *NINTH*, and the *TENTH*.
 " What need I speak of his *Military Vertues*, when by his pure
 " *Wisdom* and *Conduct* he hath saved whole *Armies*, *Bag and*
 " *Baggage* and all ; or of his *Personal Valour*, who always scorn'd
 " to turn his *Back* upon any *Enemies*, and especially the *Puny* and
 " *Cowardly French*, but hath routed them with his very *Looks*. Now,
 Sir, although there is not one Word of this strictly and literally
 true, however it may have a *Figurative use*, and some good *Advant-*
age may be made of a very bad Thing, to *flatter Men* out of the
Vices which they have, and into the *Vertues* which they have not,
 when they cannot otherwise be dealt with. But the *Flattery* we
 are speaking of, is quite another Thing ; 'tis delivered from the
Pulpit as *Holy Language*, and *Sacred Oracles* ; and instead of bring-
 ing Men to *Repentance* and *Restitution*, 'tis design'd only to Sanc-
 tify their *Vices*, to *Polish* and *Gild* over the most enormous *Ac-*
tions, to *Pamper* a hard *Conscience*, and to put a *Theological*
Eucis on the deepest *Crimes* : That is, in the *Prophet's Dialect*, To
 call!

call Evil Good, and Good Evil. To harden Men in their Sin, and throw Pillows under their Elbows.

And so I come to Dr. *Sherlock's* Sermon at the *Temple*, Dec. 30. which you must know was designed as a kind of *Funeral Sermon* on the Death of the late great Lady at *Kensington*; and this was not a Province taken up out of meer Choice, or singly allotted to him, but the universal Subject of all the Sermons in and about the Town for that Day. From whence you are given to understand, That this was by *order* and direction from their Superiors; and so you may take it, if you please, not for a Religious Commemoration, but a *Politick* one, to serve some *Politick* End of their *Masters*, and perhaps of their own; and what those Ends are you may easily see, and I shall just touch upon as I go along: And truly it looks as if their *Instructions* had been very particular, and the *Heads* upon which they should discourse assign'd them; for they all tell the same Tale, and almost in the same Words.

However I am now upon the Doctor's *Sermon*, and what I have to remark to you is included in these Particulars. As, 1. The Character he gives the deceased Princess. 2. The Account he gives of Providence, in relation to her Death. 3. An Excursion in Memory of an *old Friend* of his.

I. The Character, &c. And here I shall do what these Gentlemen never knew how to do, if they thought it not for their Purpose, and that is, to speak Modestly of the Dead; and therefore whatever *Personal* Vertues the Doctor, or any other, ascribe unto her, I shall by no means meddle with: Let them therefore say what they please of her Charity, Affability, Diligence, and Devotion at Prayers, I shall never envy at these Characters, but heartily wish she had all those Vertues, and many more; but these are purely *Personal*, and concern neither *Them* nor *Us*. But there is an *Action* of hers which very nearly affects *them*, and which it highly concerns them to clear up as a Vertue, or at least to make it Innocent; or else all her Vertues, if they were a Thousand fold more, will do them no good: But this they are either perfectly silent in, or mention it so very slightly and poorly, as if they were afraid to meddle with it; or as if it no way related to her Memory, or concerned themselves. But these Gentlemen celebrate the Vertues of this *Great Lady*, as the Regicides and their Brood defame the Memory of King *Charles* the First; they load him with all the Vices they can think on, to justify their Rebelling against and Murdering of him: So these are full of her *Praises*, that they may vindicate their

their taking an Oath of Allegiance to her : Whereas those Things concern the Case neither of the one, nor the other. The single Question in which *those* are concern'd, is not whether he was a *Vicious King*, but whether he was a *Lawful* one ? So here, the Question is not whether she was a *Vertuous Woman*, but whether she was a *Lawful Queen* ? And as to this Point there are several Things worthy of our Observation ; as,

1. They are so far from conceiving that the *Assuming the Crown* was a *Vertue* in *Her*, that the *Hypotheses* they pretend to Excuse themselves by, proceed upon the clean contrary Supposition. Dr. *Sherlock* talks of nothing but the *wickedness* of Usurpation, the *wickedness* of them that take the Government, and God's over-ruing the *wickedness* of Men. He hath taken abundance of Pains, and said all that he can, (and much more than is true) in his Two vile Books, to Excuse the *Wickedness* of *Swearing* ; but not one single Word to *vindicate* his *Powers* from *Wickedness*, but supposes the direct contrary ; and upon that Supposition frames all his Arguments and Reasons. A *King de facto* is another goodly *Hypothesis* ; and those who are craz'd with this Notion, spend all their Arguments (such as they are) to prove it *Lawful* to pay Allegiance to such a King ; but not one of them says, or thinks, That 'tis *Lawful* to be a *King de facto* : And 'tis impossible they should ; for a *King de facto* is oppos'd (in their Sense) to a *King de jure* ; and a *Lawful King de facto*, is a Contradiction in the very Terms. 'Tis as if a Man should say, Legal Illegality, Honest Villany, or Rightful Wrong ; one of the Terms is a direct Contradiction to the other. *Abdication*, let that Word mean what it will, (for they are not yet fully agreed about it) can extend to none but the Person *Abdicating* ; and therefore in an *Hereditary Monarchy*, the Right descends to the next of the Line ; and I suppose, by this time, all the World is satistied of the Legitimacy of the *Prince of Wales*. So that let their *Hypotheses* be what they will, they all sit very heavy on her ; and the Excuses they make for themselves, are but so many broad Accusations of *Her* : For let *force* excuse as much Submission as Dr. *Sherlock* pleases, it can never excuse it self : Let a *King de facto* warrant as many *Oaths* as they think fit, it can never warrant the invading and exercising an Authority which of *Right* belongs to another : Let *Abdication* justify the setting aside one Prince, it can never justify the setting aside another, who hath not *Abdicated*. So that turn their *Hypotheses* which way you will, and grant them all they demand, They all load *her*, in this Point, as hard as the war-
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most *Jacobites*, and make this Action highly Faulty by their own Principles. They are very industrious indeed to shake off all Injustice from themselves, but then they do as industriously lay it at her Door : And any Man, who reads the numerous Pamphlets that have been wrote on this Occasion, will find, That they are contented to lay all the Blame on her, and her Husband, that they may shift it from themselves. And therefore Dr. Sherlock hath mistaken his Compliment, which he so frankly bestows upon *some among our selves*, in his last Sermon, (p. 15.) *Her greatest and most implacable Enemies had no other Faults to charge her with, but her Throne:* For it is the very fault that they themselves charge her with, and before they can quit their Hands of it, They must grow *Wiser* once more, and write *new Cases of Allegiance*, and give some *new Reasons*, for all the *old Ones* do it as plain as Words can do. And if this be a Sign of great and implacable Enmity, they must have the Honour among them ; for let them Pray and Preach, and Swear never so much, I defy all the *Jacobites* in Europe to charge her with more Faults on that account, than they have done themselves. And in truth, even in their funeral Sermons, where they have endeavoured to speak the best they are able, They mention it so gingerly, that any Man may see they knew not what to say to it, nor how to let it alone ; which is the next Thing I am to observe to you. (*Viz.*)

2. When they mention her *taking the Crown*, they do it so nicely, and in such a Manner, as plainly shews, That they think it requires an Excuse and Apology, and will not admit of a Justification. Dr. Sherlock says, (p. 13.) *She was always grieved at the Occasion of taking the Government, and as glad to Resign it.* And again, (p. 15.) *She ascended the Throne indeed before she desired it ; but was thrust into it, not by an hasty Ambition, but to save a sinking Church and Kingdom.* I shall leave every Man to believe the Truth of this as he pleases ; but this strongly proves that the Doctor thought there was something in the Wind, which wanted his Rhetorick to make the best of it, which yet, with all his Skill, he is not able to clear up ; but hath left a black Mark upon it, and stain'd it with great and evident Signs of Suspicion ; For let the Occasion be what it will, let there be grief or no grief, Men do not use to be very glad to resign any Thing, and much less a Throne, which they fairly and honestly come by ; and if she was so joyful to resign the Crown, as this Gentleman would make us believe, I doubt, it will prove a Sign that she her self thought she could not very innocently wear it. But to whom, I pray, was she so glad to resign it ? Why, to her Father. And

And if this was the Case, Why did not she first Consult him; and try whether there were any fair ways to save the Church and Kingdom, and preserve the *Crown* upon her *Father's* Head? This would have sav'd her *Fathers*, and the Church and Kingdom too; and moreover would have *saved* her the Trouble of that terrible *grief* the Doctor talks on: Or why did not she afterwards, when he had lain some Years in *Exile* and *Affliction* (which must needs augment her *grief*, if she had any before, or any Spark of Duty to a tender Parent) endeavour to compose the Differences and Distractions, and reconcile her *Father* to his Subjects, and his Subjects to him, to gratify her *joy*, and put an End to her *grief*? But this *joy* is a very fruitless and unactive Passion, and serves to talk on in *funeral Sermons*, but is good for nothing at all besides. And I perceive meer *grief* and *aversion*, and *no desire*, operate more strongly than all the *joy* in the World: Nay, it seems, those wonderful Passions operate the clean contrary way, (as every Thing else does in *Usurpation*.) For, according to the Doctor, she was grieved, and had no desire to take the *Crown*, and yet she took it, and kept it: she was glad to resign it, and made not the least step towards it: It seems, these *Scepters* and *Crowns* are nothing but Mortification from one end to the other; the Occasion was *grief*, the Desire to take it *none at all*; and to be depriv'd of it the only Comfort left in such Cases; the *joy* of resigning it is very lamentable. And I wonder these Gentlemen forgot to tell us of her *Five Years* severe Tryal and Affliction, and her incredible Patience under them: For in good truth, as grievous as they were, she bore them handsomely, and the most critical and piercing Eye could see nothing outwardly, but the greatest Gaiety, Pleasure, and Complacency imaginable: But perhaps the *grief* might be the greater being kept within, and because no body could perceive it.

The next Thing the Doctor tells us, is, That she was Thrust into it: This is a Metaphor, and means it was by Compulsion, and against her Will. So that we are still upon the *diminishing* Point; but this is an *Apology* with a *Reflection* in the Belly of it: For if the matter had been clearly and manifestly just; what need is there of such *thrusting* and *force*? Do Men offer violence to their Faculties when they do a very fair and honest Action, or (as some call it) a very great and glorious One? Well, but she was thrust into it to *Save a sinking Church and Kingdom*. And suppose that, That is at the best but a *good End*, and if the *Means* be not as good as the End, the Action is stark rought; and the Doctor knows well enough,

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There was a Person who thrust out his Hand to *save the Ark*, but because he had no Authority, it cost him his Life, and by the immediate Judgment of God himself. Princes perhaps may mistake themselves, and think themselves qualified to *save Churches and Kingdoms*; but if they so far mistake as to *thrust* themselves through the Bowels of their Parents to do this, I doubt they take a very wrong Course: And all the *Savings* he can think on, will not justify the Violation of the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations. The Doctor therefore ought first to have proved, at least to have said, (whether he could prove it or no) That it is very *lawful* for one Prince to seize the *Parrimony and Inheritance* of another: That 'tis very *lawful* for *Children* to turn their Parents out of Doors, and take their Revenues to themselves: That 'tis very *lawful* to stigmatize and brand an *Infant Prince* as supposititious, contrary to their own Knowledge; and then it was time enough to talk of *Ends and Designs*, which no body knows but themselves; whatever the Pretences may be to bring about those *Ends*. For let them have as many *Ends* as they will, the Laws of God and Nature are too Sacred and Intiolable to be broken for any *Ends*, let them be good or bad, plain or mysterious; and no Man can honestly do it to *save* himself, and much less to *save* other Folks. And this is fine Doctrine for the *Pulpit and Funeral Sermons*: A Man may take another Man's Estate for the Good of the Tenants; and a Child may trample on the Neck of his Father, and send him a Begging, for the Benefit of the Family. However this shews that the Doctor is in great Perplexity, he would fain say something, but cannot tell what: He hath raised an Objection, and leaves it just as he found it. *Implacable Enemies*, had no other Fault to charge her with but her *Throne*. To let *Implacable*, and *Enemies* alone, as being out of the Question, it is certain that *Fault* she was charged with, and by them who pretend to be her *Friends* too; and what hath the Doctor said to remove it? Why the Answer is, *She did not desire it, She was thrust into it, and She had a very good End*. And what then? Will any of these, or all together, change the vicious Nature of moral Actions? Will a Thing *materially* Evil become exceeding Good, from any Reluctances, Impulses, or Designs of Men? This is not to make God's Law, but human Passions and Devices, the Rule and Standard of Vertue and Vice. So that this is a *Fault*, and will be a *Fault* still, for any Thing the Doctor hath said to the contrary: And these implacable People are at Liberty to charge her with what they please in this Point; for the Doctor hath not one single

Word

Word to stop their Mouths. However, it must be owned that this is very seasonable and fashionable Divinity, and will serve all Purposes as well as this. For instance; suppose any Man (implacable or placable it matters not) should charge it as a *Fault* on Dr. *Sherlock* for taking the *Oath*: The Answer is plain, and at hand, For first, *He did not desire it*; well, that will be granted: Secondly, *He was thrust upon it*; and that I suppose will be granted too: And last of all, *He did it out of a good and saving End*; for to *save* Preferments, or to advance them, will be allowed to be a good End. And therefore the Conclusion is plain, That 'tis very lawful to take the *Oath*, let the matter of it be what it will. In the mean time as to the *Matter* of this Action of taking the *Throne*, the Doctor hath not one Word to say to it, and leaves the People to judge as they please of it; which notwithstanding is the only Thing concerning which a Casuist can pronounce and determine: For *Designs* and *Ends* are secret Things, and are most commonly the very worst when the best is pretended. *Cromwel* could pray, and preach too, in great abundance; and (if you will believe him) He did not desire the Government, but was thrust upon it to save a sinking Kingdom, (as he tells them expressly in a Speech to his Parliament.) And here are two very hideous and black Circumstances which *Cromwel* himself wanted, That in those days there was not a Natural Father in the Case. Nor Secondly, The most kind and indulgent Father in the World. And therefore commend me to Dr. *Wake*, who speaks a little more plainly in his *Funeral Sermon*, (p. 19.) She was so great a Lover of her Country, and the Interest of it, as to be willing to hazard what next her Conscience she most valued, her good Name, and good Opinion in the World, for the Preservation of them. So that it seems the Business was not very reputable by his own Account; for 'tis ridiculous to talk of *hazarding* of a good Name, and good Opinion, if the Thing it self, in its own Nature, had been of good Fame and Report; and therefore the Doctor plainly gives up the Cause in this Point. The Action it self was neither honourable nor praise worthy; for if it had, the performing of it would have been a means to gain a good Name and Opinion, and not to hazard it. The Doctor indeed minces the matter, and speaks softly, but the plain English of his Words is, That it is *Infamous*: And the Reputation and Vertues of a Prince are so nearly link'd together, that 'tis impossible to part them; and whatsoever is *infamous* in a Prince, I doubt is vicious too. So that here we have a pretty fair Confession, although it is finely dressed up, that the People might not perceive in. It would have looked

a little awkwardly, when a Man had been stretching his Wits and Eloquence to say the *best* Things he was able, to dash all with a Couple of *blunt* and *uncourtly* Expressions; She loved her Country so dearly, as to be *unnatural* and *ungrateful* to her Parents: But the Doctor is a Courtier, and knows Language better than so; and therefore it is to be let down in a genteel and mannerly Dialect; only She *hazarded a good Name and Opinion in the World*. But Things are the same, let the Expressions be what they will: Let him call it, if he please, *hazarding a good Name*, and then tell us what he means by that, or in what Instances the *ron* that *hazard*, and he says the very same Thing, and will talk like a malicious and implacable *Jacobite*. In the mean time these Gentlemen have as little consulted their own *Reputation* as hers; for if the taking the Crown was an Action that *hazarded her good Name*, the praying for, supporting, and abetting her in that Action, must also *hazard their good Names*; for whoever partakes of an *infamous* Action, partakes of the *Infamy* too: And so these Gentlemen have strained their Rhetorick to much purpose, to give such an honourable Character of themselves, as they have done of her. I hope hereafter they will not take it so heinously, if Men think they have *hazarded* their *good Names and Reputations*; for why should any Body have a better Opinion of them, than they have of themselves?

Since the first Impression of this, Dr. Burnet hath undertaken the Argument, and hath published a Pamphlet, called, *An Essay on the Memory of the late Queen*: This Doctor you know is a Man of mighty Latitude, and can say any Thing to serve a Turn; whose Reverence resolves Cases of Conscience backwards and forwards, disputes *Pro* and *Con*, praises and dispraises by secular Measures; with whom Virtue and Vice, Passive Obedience and Rebellion, Parricide and Filial Duty, Treachery and Faithfulness, and all the Contradictions in Nature, are the *best* or the *worst* Things under the Sun, as they are for his Purpose; and according as the Wind sits: Who equally and indifferently writes *for* and *against* all Men, the Gospel, and himself too, as the World goes: Who can bestow a Panegyrick upon the Seven Deadly Sins, and (if there be occasion) can make an Injunctive against all the Commandments. Now, Sir, you must confess, That is a very hard Case indeed, which a Man of such a *Breadth* and Qualifications cannot speak plainly to, and does not know what to do with. And thus you have him delivering himself in this Point, (p. 91.) *In those great Steps of her later Years, that carried a Face which at first Appearance seemed liable to Censure; and*
that

that were the single Instances of her whole Life, that might be thought capable of hard Constructions. You see, Sir, what a rare Faculty our Doctor hath at palliating and daubing: But you are not at all to wonder at this; for the most flagitious Crimes in the World, if our Author can find his Account in them, by a little turn of ungodly Rhetorick, shall be diminished into nothing but *Faces* and *Appearances*, and I cannot tell what. In the mean time he plainly destroys the Cause he designs to maintain; for it seems the matter is not so very clear, but it is encumber'd with criminal *Seemings* and *Appearances*. And what then, on God's Name, makes them talk over and over, and tell the World of the *manifest* Justice, and *apparent* Righteousness of their Cause, when, according to their own Account of it, it carries the *Face* and *Appearance* of Guilt? For, as I take it, *manifest* Righteousness, and *seeming* Unrighteousness, is a manifest Contradiction. And what makes them clamour so furiously against the *Jacobites*, for seeing the Revolution by such a Light which they own it hath the *Seeming* and *Appearance* of? Or for thinking of Things in such a manner which they themselves say they *may be thought capable of*? However, the Doctor would have done but honestly, if he had told us the Grounds of these *Faces* and *Appearances*, and what are the Reasons why this Action is liable to *Censure*, and capable of hard Constructions: And then the Reader would have judged, whether it was only *seeming* and *apparent*, or real and in truth. But he durst not trust his Reader with telling him, That these Reasons were drawn from the common Principles of human Nature, the constant Tenor and Declaration of Christianity, the particular Direction of the Fifth and of the Tenth Commandment. Now 'tis a little too much for any Man but the Doctor, to call the notorious and persevering Violation of all, and every one of these, meer *Faces*, and *Appearances*, and *seemingly* Censurable; and, I doubt, so long as the Sense of these remain in the World, it will not only be *thought capable of hard Constructions*, but incapable of any other. However the Doctor further tells us, (p. 93.) That she saw that not only her own Reputation might suffer by it, but that Religion too, might be concerned in those Reproaches that she was to look for. How can that be, Sir, according to the magnificent Character that you, and the rest of you, have given of it heretofore? For when you made it the Subject of your *flattering Sermons*, you used to extol it, as the greatest, most glorious, and pious Action, that e'er was: And I hope such Actions as these have no bad Influence either upon Reputation, or Religion, but the clean contrary; so that if she her-

self had such a Sense of it, it is plain she did not believe you, but
 took her Sentiments from better Instructors, and from the Principles
 of that Religion she was Educated in. And this you confirm
 as much as you can, when you immediately add, *This was much*
more to her than all the Crowns could offer instead of it. Now, Sir, I
 hope you do not intend to persuade the World, That she valued
 the Opinion or Reproaches of the *Jacobites* more than the Crown;
 that therefore these Sentiments were raised not from particular and
 accidental Consideration, but from the Nature of the Thing, and
 the general Sense of Mankind about it. The Action, in its own
 Nature, was neither *Reputable* nor *Righteous*, and consequently
 would reflect both upon her *Reputation* and her *Religion*: For 'tis
 impossible for any Man to think, That doing a Thing *highly Reputable*
 will endanger Reputation, but advance it: That performing
 an Action of *heroick Virtue* and *Piety* will reproach Religion, but
 bring an Honour to it. So that at last the Doctor hath made a fair
 Commendation, and said much in justification of his Cause, by ac-
 quainting us that she her self had no very good Opinion of it, as
 seeing that both her own Reputation, and the Credit of Religion,
 might suffer by it. And this is yet further confirm'd, by the Re-
 presentation he makes of her intolerable Grief and Agonies, *That*
she made a Sacrifice of her self in accepting that Elevation, which perhaps
was harder for her to bear, than if she had been made a Sacrifice in the se-
werest Sense; that the Concealment of her Sorrow was more sensible
and violent to her, than any Thing that could have been wished her, by
the most enraged and virulent of all her Enemies. (p. 96.) Now as to
 the Truth of this I will not dispute with the Doctor; if any Man
 has a mind to believe it upon his bare Word, he may do as he
 please: But it was a hard Case, that all the *flattering Sermons* she
 frequently heard, and the daily Converse she had with such Men;
 could give her no ease. However (if this was the Case) it is sure
 no extraordinary proof of the wonderful Glory and Blessedness of
 the Cause: Men do not use to live under eternal Crucifixions and
 Mortifications for doing the best Actions in the World. I doubt the
 Path was not so plain and clear, but there were Rubs in the way,
 which could not fairly be got over; the *Duty to Parents*, and the *In-*
justice of taking what is none of our own, are Points that will not ea-
 sily be weather'd: And if (as the Doctor says) this mighty Sor-
 row arose from the *Duty* she bore to her *Father*, there was no other
 way in the World to relieve her, and give her true Quiet, but by
 shewing that either she was wholly absolved from that *Duty*,
 or

of that this Action was *consistent* with it. But neither of these could be done. And this is a Point that always hath, and always will lye upon their hands; and they never spoke one Word to it, to give her solid Peace in the time of her Life, nor to clear her from the Imputation after her Death. But as then, so now, they are all for telling flattering and daubing Stories, and rambling from the true and direct Question, which they dare not touch with one of their Fingers: Just as the Doctor here, (p. 32.) *That the publick Good of Mankind, the Preservation of Religion, and those real Extremities to which Matters were driven, ought to supersede all other Considerations.* Yes, I suppose, to supersede the Fifth Commandment, and natural Duty, and common Justice. At this rate a Man may rob, and murder, or do any Thing to preserve Religion, if Matters are come to Extremity: For I would fain see a Reason, why the same Occasions would not supersede all the Commandments, as well as one of them? The Doctor goes on, *She had generous Notions of the Liberty of human Nature, and the Ends of Government, which was designed to make Mankind happy and safe, and not to raise Power upon the Ruins of Property and Liberty; nor could she think that Religion was to be delivered up to the Humours of misguided Princes.* Very good, Sir; but are there no Notions in the World, besides the Notions of the Liberty of human Nature? Sure the Notions of the Obligations and Restraints of human Nature are as considerable, and deserve as much to be comply'd with; and no Man can justify the vindicating the Liberty of human Nature to others, by destroying the Restraints of it that God hath laid upon our selves: And, as I take it, 'tis no very honest Method for a Man to set himself, or others free, by knocking his Father on the Head. Let the Ends of Government be what they will, the Ends of Filial Piety, and commutative Justice, are every way as Sacred, and ought not to be tore up by the Roots, to make another Person answer the Ends of Government. *Religion is not to be delivered up to the Humours of misguided Princes; nor to the Humours of any Man else, though he calls himself a Bishop; nor can be, except Men please themselves:* But for all that, I do not think the external Preservation of Religion ought to be attempted by breaking the Commandments. However, at last he tells us, (p. 34.) *That being the only visible Mean left to preserve the Protestant Religion, she was thereby determin'd to it.* Well, if that were the only visible Mean, then it ought to have been left to God's Providence; for that visible Mean was stark nought, and can never be justified, as being a visible Violation of that Religion it is pretended

pretended to preserve. For God never gave Authority, or Allowance, to Children to turn their Parents out of Doors, and seize their Inheritance to themselves.

Thus, Sir, you see what kind of Divinity we have from these Men; they are very copious and full of Tales, about *Ends and Purposes*, *publick Good and Preservations*, which is always the Guise of *Impostors*, to consecrate material Wickedness with holy Ends, which must commute and atone for all the Unrighteousness they have dipt their Hands in. They know well enough there are *three* Things that necessarily and essentially concur to the Goodness of every Action; that the *Matter* of it be *Just*, the *Means* *Lawful*, and the *End* *Right*; but 'tis the *last* only they bedeck with Titles and Epithets; but the other Two are left to shift for themselves, which notwithstanding are the only Things that come under Consideration: For *Ends and Purposes* are Mytheries and Secrets, and lodged in every Man's private Breast, and are frequently as various as the Men are that are engaged in the same outward Action. As in the Revolution, one Man's *End* might be to get a *Throne*, another's to gratify his *Revenge*, a third to feed his *Interest*, by patching up a crakt Fortune, or making a new one; a fourth to humour his Levery and Inconstancy; and of some, perhaps, the Ambition of being *King-makers*: Now these are all personal, and every Man must answer for himself, and no Man can be party to another Man's Intentions; but the outward Action, and the Means of attaining and supporting, they are all more or less concerned, and responsible. And one would think something should be said a little to clear and smooth this; and not leave it to the mercy of every *hard-hearted Jacobite* to worry them with at his Pleasure.

3. It is not the least observable, That these Gentlemen should with so much Care depreciate the Person they are celebrating, and fly in their own Faces. Common Discretion, one would think, should have taught them to let this Point alone, if they had no more to say for it, but what reflects upon her and themselves; especially since some of it is apparently False. What should make Dr. Sherlock talk of Grief, and having no Desire, and being Thrust into the Throne, when every Man in England who ever saw the Court can confute him, and the Nature of the Thing it self confutes him beyond Contradiction? For when a Princess hath broken through all the Sacred Bonds of Religion, Justice, and Humanity; when she has driven over the Head of the best of Fathers to get into a Throne; to talk of Grief, and Aversion, and Compulsion: is the

the height of Paradox and Madneſs, and ſhews only what ſome Men will ſay to ſerve a Purpoſe : But what *purpoſe* was this to ſerve ? That is no hard Queſtion to anſwer ; for you find this was one, if not a main Branch of their *Inſtructions* : For they all have it more or leſs, and I am told it was not forgot in moſt of the Sermons of that Day. And by this time you may ſee through the Myſtery ; It was a ſeaſonable Doctrin, and deſigned as a Document or Admonition to *Princeſs Ann*, or at leaſt to the People concerning *her* : For, Sir, you know, That in the Judgment of Nine parts of the Kingdom, ſhe hath a better Title to the Crown than another certain Perſon ; and we want not Inſtances in this Kingdom of *Poſſeſſion*, and *de Facto*, giving Place to *Right*, by the Determination of an *Engliſh Parliament*, and the Concurrence of all the People. And therefore if you would underſtand theſe Gentlemen right, you muſt interpret them in this manner, — “ Ma-
 “ dam, your Siſter had great *Grief* when ſhe took the Throne,
 “ and had no Will to it, and it was not very *reputable* neither ; and
 “ therefore it is far better for you to conſult your own Credit and
 “ Eaſe, than to raiſe any Pretenſions, which will only multiply
 “ your Sorrow, and withal blaſt your Reputation. Beſides, ſhe
 “ was *thruſt into it to ſave a ſinking Church and Kingdom* ; and that
 “ matter is taken Care of already, and in the Hands of another,
 “ and therefore you can have no ſuch Pretences. Furthermore,
 “ it is not impoſſible but your Brother may have a mind to Marry,
 “ and this might ſpoil his Fortunes ; and therefore moſt certainly
 “ ’twas *Grief*, *Unwillingneſs*, and *Hazarding her good Name in the*
 “ *World*. And who, that is not abandon’d to the utmoſt neglect
 “ of themſelves, would (in ſuch a Caſe) meddle with ſuch *for-*
 “ *rowful and hazardous Things* ? And thus, Sir, you have the My-
 ſtery unfolded, and the Politick End of all this talk laid open. They
 could eaſily, if they had pleaſed, have celebrated this Action with
 the Epithers of *Magnanimous*, *Glorious*, *Godlike*, and have put it into
 the ſame Dialect with the reſt of her Praises ; (and I deſy any
 Man to think that they were reſtrained by Religion or Conſcience)
 but it was not ſo convenient at this Time : That might have pro-
 ved a Temptation to others, who had as good and the very ſame
 Pretenſions with her ſelf ; and therefore it was fit to add a Dath
 of Diſcouragement, and mingle it at this Juncture with *Sorrow*,
Violence, and *Diſcredit*. From whence you plainly ſee, what good
 Friends theſe Gentlemen are to the old *Engliſh Monarchy*. For moſt
 certainly the *Hypotheſis* of *Abdication*, with all its Branches, is now
 fallen

fallen to the Ground; for let *Desire*, or what they will, be *Ad-
dition*; and let the *Prince of Wales* be what they please, the plain
Consequence of this *Hypothesis* is, That by the Constitution of the
English Monarchy, she ascended the Throne in her own Right,
and her Husband governed in Right of her; but then that Right is
determined with her, and is now no more; and by the undoubted
Constitution of the *English Government*, that Right descends to
the next Heir. And the single Question is no more but this; Whe-
ther she sat upon the Throne of her Ancestors? If she did, then her
Husband is no more her Heir than King *Philip* was Heir to Queen
Mary. If she did not, then the Constitution is broken to Pieces;
our old *English Monarchy* is utterly abolished and destroyed, and there
is not the least Footstep of it remaining. But *Monarchy* or *no Mo-
narchy*, *English* or *Dutch*, 'tis all one to them, they must follow their
Instructions.

4. There is one Thing yet behind concerning this Action of
assuming the Throne, which deserves your Observation: And that is,
That these Gentlemen have not given us the last Sentiments that
she her self had of it. Had there been a *Death-bed Declaration*, we
might have believed she had been in good Earnest, though as
strangely and unaccountably Mistaken as ever Person was. And
to be sure, had there been the least Title of this, we should have
had it rung through the Kingdom, to fortify their Cause: But the
industrious Concealment of every Thing that she said relating to
this, is a Demonstration that she said nothing to their Advantage,
but the contrary. Here was an Action that alarm'd the World,
stain'd the Glory of her Life, and (if Dr. *Sherlock* and Dr. *Burnet* may
be believ'd) was Grief and Sorrow to her self; and 'tis next to impos-
sible but she must say something of this, when she had a visible Pro-
spect of her Death. A meer natural Conscience, without the Light of
Religion, must needs both inform and awaken her; and indeed
there are broad Whispers as if she had said something that was not
very grateful to them. If these Gentlemen knew nothing of it,
their Ignorance will excuse them; but if they did, 'tis horrid Hy-
pocrisy to conceal it. It seems they were acquainted with the
manner of her Dying; Dr. *Sherlock*, (p. 24.) saith, *She saw Death
approaching without Fear, and prepared to receive the Stroke with Calm-
ness; &c. which nothing could give but an innocent Conscience.* And
Dr. *Wake*, (p. 35.) That for the Clearness of her Conscience his Two
Arguments are, *The Easiness of her own Mind in her Life time, and her
appearing unconcern'd in the prospect of her Death, which* (saith he)

gave

*gave a final Evidence that she accounted her self prepared for it: So that here is no Fact but Reasoning, and Conclusions drawn from Premises; and 'tis extremely ridiculous to run to Inferences and Collections, if they could have proved it by plain Words from her own Mouth. 'Tis therefore undeniable, either that she said nothing at all, which is one of the strangest Things in the World, or that which she did say, is directly against them; and the great Care to suppress it, is as great an Evidence of it, as such a Thing is capable of. And here we have the Difference between the two Causes in the trying Article of Death: On the one Side, We have Two Venerable and Reverend Bishops, besides several others, who have given the highest Evidence of their intire Satisfaction in their Principles and Practices, by venturing their Souls in the same bottom with them, and with their last Breath declaring it in the most solemn Manner, and in the plainest Words. On the other Side, There is first one of their greatest Bishops dying without the least mention of the Cause, although he himself had as great a Share in it, as half a Score of some others. And then the Death-bed of the Principal her self, carries evident Suspirions of the clean contrary. And the Conclusion from these Premises, and the Application and Improvement of this Point is this; *Let my Soul dwell with those Principles, which though they may create me Trouble and Affliction while I Live, yet I shall not be ashamed of them when I come to Die.**

II. The next Thing is, The Account and Reason he gives of Providence, with respect to her Death. And of this he tells us, (p. 23, 24.) That though we do not know the particular Reasons, yet there are general Answers which may satisfy: And his Answers are Two. One with respect to our selves; That God is Angry, and by the untimely Death of an Excellent Princess threatens his Judgments, unless we Repent. The other is with respect to her; and then the Answer is, 'Tis no Loss to change an Earthly Crown for an Heavenly Crown. These are Reasons I shall neither dispute nor meddle with; but there is another, and a very particular one too, which the Doctor might have seen, if he had pleased, and which certainly would never have escaped him on any other Occasion. The Question (as he puts it himself) is concerning her sudden and untimely Death, and being cut off in the Vigor and Strength of Age. And has the Doctor never heard of *Rebellious and Disobedient Children* not living out half their Days? I shall not undertake to give any Reasons for this, or any other Providence, which Providence it self does not plainly and manifestly direct to: That is enough for the Doctor to do, who hath made

more bold with Providence than ever Man did. But when there is a *Commandment*, to which a Promise of *long Life* is particularly and expressly annexed, which plainly implies a *Threatning* of a *short Life* upon the *Violation* of it: And when the Fact is Notorious and Manifest, and a visible Providence following it, punctually, and in all Points answering the Divine Threatnings; I am certain a Man may with more Safety and Modesty assign that as a Reason, which God himself in particular threatens to that particular Fact. This is not entering into God's Secrets, but following the Conduct of his Commandments; and interpreting his Providences, according to those Declarations which God himself hath made in that very Case. And I do not at all doubt to say, That here was as great and open a Breach of the *FIFTH COMMANDMENT* as ever was in the World, aggravated by many and heinous Circumstances; as unnatural Ingratitude, triumphing and persevering in it for a long time: And all the Commendations these Gentlemen give of her great Knowledge, Virtue, and Piety, are but as so many more Aggravations; as thereby acting against a clearer Light, and bringing a greater Dishonour and Scandal upon the Christian Religion and Profession. However, this is the very Case to which God threatens shortness of Life; and here we have the Matter of that Threatning plainly exemplified in the untimely Death of this Princess: But whether or no, in this severe Providence, her undutifulness to her Parents hath overtaken her, or whether God hath cut her off in the midst of her Days for this, or for any other wise and just Reason; I am very certain that from hence there are two Things of practical Observation, and which (with these Gentlemen's good leave) deserve to be inculcated to the People on this solemn Occasion, and as useful at least as any Thing they have said in their Sermons.

The one is, That from hence Children be admonished to be more *dutiful to their Parents*, lest their Lives also are shortened, and they for their Disobedience cut off from the Earth in the Flower of their Age. These Gentlemen indeed have taken the contrary Method, and (as far as in them lies) have tore up by the Roots all Filial Piety: For if a Person, living in the constant and plain Violation of this Duty, may notwithstanding be magnified to the utmost stretch of Mens Wits and Understandings, may be recommended from the Pulpit as a great Exemplar of all Vertue, Perfection, and Excellence; and preached up into Heaven by a whole Set of Divines, without the least guard on this Head, or any manner

manner of direction concerning it; I doubt rebellious Children will infer for themselves, and think they may merit abundance of Praise too, and go to Heaven at last, although they allow themselves in a visible and standing Breach of a plain and necessary Duty. For if unnatural Disobedience be no Impeachment to one Man's Vertue, neither is it to another's; and God hath not given the Fifth Commandment to common People only, and left Princes to their own Liberty in the matter. And, in good truth, these Gentlemen have been such faithful Stewards, as to do their best to pray and preach all natural Duty out of the World. And therefore

The second is, To Caution all Men from hence to be very careful how they join with, encourage, support or commend (directly or by consequence) any Disobedience to Parents; lest the Fate of rebellious Children be derived to them, and they also shorten their own Days, and bring themselves to an untimely End. For 'tis a rul'd Case, whosoever is Accessary to the Guilt, is Accessary to the Punishment too. One Man's personal Vices become another Man's by his Consent and Approbation, and much more by his Applauding and Encouraging them. How large and wide therefore this Crime of Filial Disobedience reaches, I shall not need to determine; so far as this Consent extends to particular Persons, the Guilt is Personal; and so far as it is National, the Guilt also is National; and the Threatning and Judgment is also as large, and as extensive, as the Guilt. And there is a Shortning the Days of a Nation, as well as of particular Persons, by cutting them off from being no more a People, or by divesting them of their Ancient Government, Constitution, Privileges, Laws and Franchises; which is in truth making them another Nation than they were before, and of another Polity. I pray God divert his Judgments both from particular Persons, and from the whole Nation, and give all Men Wisdom to take early Warning by particular Examples; that by a timely Repentance they may prevent the Execution of those Threatnings which apparently hang over our Heads, and are the declar'd Consequences and Effects of our present Actions. For there is nothing more plain than that this Nation hath notoriously violated the Fifth Commandment, upon all Accounts upon which it can be violated; both in an unjust Rebellion against the Civil Parent, and withal at the same time abetting and supporting an unparallel'd Disobedience against the Natural Parent.

But to return to Providence; There are some Circumstances yet to be observ'd; particularly as to Time, and especially if we shall follow

follow these Gentlemen in their Method of reading and interpreting of Providence; and how much such Observations will come home to them, you may see by this one Instance

**Thanksgiving Sermon*, 1688. p. 30. of Dr. Tillotson, **Our wonderful Deliverance* (says he) *from the formidable Spanish Invasion designed against us, happen'd in the Year 1688. And now just a hundred Years after, the very same Year, and at the same Season of the Year, this last great Deliverance came to us. That horrid Gun-powder Conspiracy, without President, and without Parallel, was designed to have been executed upon the Fifth Day of November, the same Day upon which his Highness the Prince of Orange Land'd the Forces here in England, which he brought hither for our rescue. And the very same you may find in Dr. Burnet, and others, mentioning it with mighty Triumph, as a Divine Seal and Testimony to their Cause. Now, Sir, if you please turn your Eyes to the Case before us, and you will find, That the Princess sickned, was invaded by a mortal Distemper, and struggled with the Grief and Pangs of it, in the same Month, Days and Moments, in the which her Father, but Six Years before, laboured under the Agonies of an unnatural Invasion and Rebellion. That she died the same Month, almost the same Day of the Month, but the very same Hour of the Day, on which her Father was forced into Exile, (for he withdrew himself from Rochester about One in the Morning.) And to this you may add, That the exposing her Corps to publick View, and lying in State, happens to be in the same Month of February, in which she and her Husband were proclaimed in publick King and Queen: And to compleat the Parallel, One great Reason, if not the only Reason of the delay to this Month was, for that the Purple (the Royal Colours) to adorn the Solemnity was expected from Holland. And I doubt not but a critical and curious Observer will find, That every remarkable Moment in her Sicknesh, Death, Funeral Pomp, and Funeral it self, will answer to so many several Steps made in the Revolution. How far such Things as these are Argumentative, either from the Nature of Things, the Observations of Men, or the ordinary Methods of Divine Providences, I shall not now enquire: Only I am certain, 'This is *Argumentum ad Hominem*; and these Gentlemen who have used it themselves, and with such great Assurance too, can never Except against it. For if Years, and Seasons of the Year, and such like, are Things so observable, as from thence to point out a Determination of the Divine Will, or to signify God's Approbation or Dislike, here we have them all, even to Months and*

and Hours, with an Accumulation of Circumstances; and their own Arguments turn upon them with this great Advantage, That for Days in which Men are to perform any remarkable Actions, they are frequently in their own Choice, and *Fatalists* (who are Superstitious Observers of Times and Seasons) will be sure to pitch upon such Days as they think, or have observ'd to be fortunate to them: But *Death* is out of our Choice and Power, 'tis the peculiar Stroke of God himself. *Cromwel* gain'd two famous and fortunate Victories on the 3d of Sept. but he died on that Day too, and all his Hopes were blasted, and an End put to his *Usurpation*; which not only eternally confutes all the bold and blasphemous Arguments drawn for him from Providence and Success, but turn'd the Edge of them directly upon themselves.

III. The last Thing I shall observe to you, is, The Excursion the Doctor makes in Memory of an *old Friend* of his (p. 16. & seq.) This *old Friend* you must know is Dr. Tillotson, between whom and the Doctor, it seems, were very great Endearments; although after the Revolution there might be for some time a Misunderstanding, which the Doctor out of his Generosity can forget (and if other People would forget it too, it would never be the worse for him:). But even at the same time the distance was not so wide as some People thought; for there was another *Friend* of his, and who was *Friend* to them both, who all along kept up the Amity and Correspondence; and you know the Maxim, *Quæ convenient in aliquo tertio, convenient inter se*: So that it might be *old Friendship* still, notwithstanding the outward seeming and appearance to the contrary. Well, Friendship or no Friendship, Old or New, the Doctor however hath abundance of fine Words to Lye, and they are but Words; for there is no Truth, nor colour of Truth in the bottom, but that I suppose may be excus'd, if there is a *Friend* in the Case.

In the first Place the Doctor tells us, He had great Designs to serve the Christian Religion, and the Church of England in its truest Interest. And again, The great use he made of the Favour and Interest that he had, was to do publick Service to Religion, and whatever some Men might suspect, as the Church of England. Well; then, it seems, this Matter was not so clear, but there were some *Suspensions* as to his Designs on this Head: And the single Question is, Whether these *Suspensions* were just and reasonable? As for that, the Doctor leaves People to think as they please, and hath not said one Word to discharge them, but plainly confirms them: For he adds immediately, though it may not be perfectly in their way. Now the Church of England, as it sustains that de-

nomination, stands distinguished from Dissenters of all Sorts by her *Canons, Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy*; and the *old Way* of pursuing the *Churches Interest* was by being true to these our selves, and by using our Power and Authority that others might be so too. And this is the way that hitherto hath been taken, by all those who have heartily and honestly espoused the Interest of the Church, from the beginning of the Reformation. But this was a *Way* that did not please the Doctor's Friend; but he was for a *new Way* of his own; and though the Doctor does not tell us what *Way* that was, it was sufficiently known, It was a *Way* of *Alteration* and *Comprehension*, and he made a Commissioner for that Purpose, and would fain have been *Prolocutor* of the Convocation to have brought it to effect. And this was that *great Design* he was always pursuing with all his Might and Cunning; that is, He was endeavouring to alter and comprehend away the Church, who being himself first false to her Principles and Constitution, was designing to frame a Church of the same Model, and make it as false as himself. In short, he was for making a *Dutch Church* of an *English one*, which is a very fine way indeed of having *Designs to serve the Church of England in its truest Interests*. I doubt not but Mr. Baxter, and another of the Doctor's old Friends, Dr. F. O. had also great Designs to serve the Church of England though not perfectly in their Way; that is, in a Way to let themselves and their Scholims into the Church, which is Dr. Tillotson's Way. So that had the Doctor said, That his old Friend had great Designs for the Interest of the Dissenters, he had spoke truth; and I dare say he will yet say it, if ever Things be ripe enough to open thus boldly. But to talk of his Designs for the truest Interests of the *Church of England*, 'tis the extravagantest Thing in the World: For there is nothing more ridiculous, than to call those Designs for the *Church of England*; which were designed purely to undermine it; to throw up the Inclosure and make it *Common*, to take away those Things upon the Account of which it hath its denomination, and is distinguished from all others, and particularly the Doctor's Friends the Dissenters. But I had rather you should have this in Dr. Sherlock's own Words, and you shall see what he hath said and prinked of this very Man, and in this very Case. And in the first Place he enquires whether there is any Necessity of such Alterations, and says, *The Members of the Church of England generally believe there is none. And then asks, Whether it be for the Reputation and Establishment of the Church, or for the Increase of Reverence and Devotion in the People, to be so* frequently

frequently meditating unnecessary Alterations? Again he asks, *Whether it be for the Peace, Unity, and Edification of the Church, for some few assuming Men to alter the establish'd Worship, to make it comply with their own private Con-
 ceits, or to serve their own private Ends? Whether it be for the Churches Ad-
 vantage to change the ancient Rules and Forms of Worship, for some new mo-
 dern Inventions? How shall we justify our selves against the Charge of No-
 velty and Innovation, if we reform away all the Remains and Characters of
 a Primitive and Apostolick Church? Here you have Dr. Sherlock's Notion
 of the Design; and there is much more to the same Purpose. And now
 you shall have his Opinion of the Man in the pursuit of this Design; *Whether the known Character of some leading Men in this Commission be not
 Reason enough to suspect the Event? Whether Men who conform'd with diffi-
 culty themselves, or upon Principles which wise Men foresaw would destroy
 the Church in time, who have Latitude to conform to a Church de Facto,
 which hath Power on its Side, and to conceal their own Inclinations till it is
 time to shew them: are not likely to do the Church of England a good Turn
 when opportunity serves, and which perhaps they imagine now they have?*
 Again, *Whether there was any such haste of altering the best constituted
 Church in the World, which honourable Fists some of these Commissioners, in a
 good Mood, have in their Writings bestowed upon the Church of England?*
 Meaning his old Friend Dr. Tillotson. Once again, *And thus our Church
 may be changed, and altered, and transformed by Nine Men, who may have
 Tenderness and Moderation enough to part with any Thing but their Church
 Preferments.* Now, Sir, you will confess that the Doctor treats his Friend,
 especially an old Friend, a little coarsely and unfriendly. And I doubt
 very much whether the Doctor in those days would have given him
 his Vote for the Archbishoprick, or yet for the following Characters, of
 the clearest and brightest Reason, truer Judgment, more inflexible fearless
 Honesty; for these are directly contrary to the Characters he gives of
 him here. But the Doctor I suppose is grown wiser now, and which
 you know *no Man is forbid.* Nay, he is grown wiser than the wise Men
 themselves; for you have heard, *That wise Men foresaw such Principles
 would destroy the Church in time.* But the Doctor now is so wise as to see
 plainly, *That those Principles are for the Churches truest Interest.*
 Now, Sir, whatever you may think of the Cause, I pray now tell me:
 what you think of the Preacher? Are not these delicate Things from
 the Mouth of Dr. Sherlock, who hath in so many Words asserted the
 clean contrary of the same Design, and of the same Man engag'd in that
 Design? Had the Doctor nothing to say for his old Friend, but by spit-
 ting in his own Face, and shewing himself to the World for a rank Apo-
 state, in contradicting almost every Thing that ever he said in his
 whole*

whole Life; in the mean time he may say and preach what he please of this, or of any other Person, but he hath taken extraordinary Care that no Body should believe him: For if Dr. Tillotson's Character is to be raken upon the Credit of Dr. Sherlock, then you must believe *both* or *none*; for the *Queries* and the *Sermon* have the *same Author*, and the *same Authority* too: However at last it was Friendly done, to sacrifice his own Reputation to the Memory of his Friend. For by contradicting the *hard and foul* Characters he has given of Dr. Tillotson, he hath taken off the Credit of them, so far as they relate to him, and no Man is bound to believe them because Dr. Sherlock said them; but his Friend's Memory will get but little by the Bargain, for this taints all his good Characters too, and for the same Reason no Body is bound to believe them. Here we have of the same Person, upon the same Occasion, and by the selfsame Man, these very agreeing Characters, That he had, and he had not, good Inclinations to the Church of England; That his Designs were, and they were not, for the Reputation of that Church; That *whatever some might suspect*, he did, and he did not, purpose to serve her in her *truest Interests*; That he was, and was not, a Time-server; Did, and did not, conceal his Inclinations to do the Church a good Turn, &c. And the present Age and Posterity is left to believe which they please, either or neither: for what Dr. Sherlock says on one Side, the same Dr. Sherlock confutes on the other. So that whether the Doctor hath consulted his Friend's Reputation, it is plain he forgot his own. For such changeable and double dealing in matters of such Moment hath been always infamous; to say no worse. And the Doctor stands upon Record, both as to *Persons, Things, and Causes*, the greatest Instance of *Self-contradiction*, that this, or perhaps any other Age hath bred. I shall not trouble you with a large Reflexion on his other Characters, for a very few Words will serve the turn, and the very naming them is sufficient to expose them. In the next Place he tells you, *That greatest Fault I know he had, was, That some Envious and Ambitious Men could not bear his Greatness, which he himself never courted, may, which he industriously avoided.* This you must take for a Commendation of his singular *Modesty*, join'd with an Aspiration of Envy upon some others; and I doubt neither of them very true: for whether he courted his Greatness or no, a very little *Industry* would have served to avoid it. And any Man who knows the Methods used for the gaining Possession of *Lambeth*, will be too satisfied, That though there was very little *Courtship*, there was a great deal of *Industry* employ'd: And it is very pleasant to talk of such a Man *industriously Avoiding*, when he was not only an *Intruder*, but violently thrust himself into another's *Parlance*. Right,

Right, by litigious Suits, and false Claims, and under the pretended Power of Law. And then for his *Greatness*, it carried its Antidote with it, and there was enough to choke any Man's Appetite, whose Ambition did not exceed his Probity: For he was both an *Usurper's* and an *usurping* Bishop. And these are no such tempting Titles and Acquisitions, as to move the Envy of any, but such as Dr. *Sherlock*. And I doubt I cannot so safely apply the remaining part of the Character to the Doctor, as I did some before, (*viz.*) *That he never Courted, but industriously Avoided* his Preferments. And then it will follow, That those *who industriously Court* Preferments, are the *ambitious* Men who *envied* his Greatness. And by this *Mark* the Doctor, if he pleases, may distinguish them, and point them out; for I dare say, There is never a *true* Son of the Church of *England*, who *envied* his Greatness, but despised it; and whomsoever he would insinuate by this goodly Character, 'tis as plain as the Sun, That it suits with no Body but themselves:

The next Thing is very fine and Artificial; *Had it been put to the Poll there would have been vast Odds on his Side, that he would have been voted in to the See of Canterbury*. You see the Doctor's Rhetorick runs very low, when he is forc'd to take up with such Childish Topicks. 'Tis an admirable Vertue indeed that must receive its Lustre from the *Poll*; and the Doctor hath given us a curious Rule by which to measure *worth*, (*viz.*) *The Mob and most Voices*. In the mean time this Assertion is as bold as 'tis ridiculous: The Doctor would be thought a wise Man, as if he had felt the Pulse of the whole Kingdom, and knew well the Inclinations of all the People; for he tells us, *All England knew his worth*: Whereas this plainly betrays him, and shews, That though he talks large and wide, and like a Traveller, yet that in truth he was bred at home, and knows very little beyond his own Doors. For above one half of the People scarcely so much as heard of his Name, and four parts of six hardly knew whether he had any *Worth* or no; whether he was good for something, or for nothing: And of those who did know him, a great many knew him a little too well to give their Vote for him. And of this we have a very plain and full Instance; when he stood to be *Prolocutor* of the *Convocation*, there was as undecent and uncanonical Struggling to make a Party for him, as perhaps ever was known in *England*; and yet neither his *own worth* (so great and so known as the Doctor says) nor the Interest and Canvassing of Dr. *Tayl* and all the *Latitudinarian* Tribe with all the *Wit*, *Cunning*, *Vigilance* and *Artifice*, were able to carry it; but all the Odds was against him, and that considerably. So that, I doubt, the Doctor is a little out, as to his Judgment about the *Poll*. In the mean time, it is very pleasant to talk of *Voting* an Archbishop into the See of *Canterbury*; as if the *Mob*, and vulgar Multitude (by far the most numerous of any Nation) were the fittest Judges of Episcopal Qualifications: And see what a wise

Reason he gives for this, *For no Man had ever a clearer and brighter Reason; a truer Judgment, a more easy and happy Expression, nor a more inflexible fearless Honesty.* Now that Particle, *For*, denotes the Reason why the *vast Odds*, in Polling would have been on his Side; and therefore you must needs be convinc'd that he would certainly have carried it, because the common People are the best Judges in the World of *clear and bright Reason, true Judgment, happy Expression, and fearless Honesty.* He had better by half have mention'd his Corpulency and Fatness, or his Hospirality (if he could have told how) or any Thing else for a Reason, and the People would have voted him into *Canterbury*, because he was Plump, and Well-liking, and Fatter than other People, and then the Reason would have suited the Subject; for they are a thousand times better Judges of this, than of *Reason, Judgment, or Expressions.* But now the Reason is more ridiculous than the Assertion. 'Tis extream Folly to distinguish a Man's Vertue by the Odds of Polling, and Voting; but it is ten times more so, to give that as a Reason, which not one in a thousand of the *Voters* understand any Thing of. In the mean time, if this be the only Reason (and the Doctor assigns this and no other) why he thinks he would have been voted into the *Metropolitcal See*, I hope those who understand what is *clear Reason*, and *true Judgment*, will be allowed the fittest Judges, and most competent Electors; and then I doubt instead of being voted in, he would have been voted out. For in the Instance before, a Convocation of learned Divines, who well understood these Qualities, and were very able to Judge of them, voted directly against him: So that if these *clear bright, and happy Things* of *Reason, Judgment* and *Expression*, are to be measur'd by *Vote*, the Doctor hath plainly lost his Cause; for in such Cases the *Vote* of learned Men, and of the same Profession, is far more considerable than that of the People, if there had been any such Thing. But the Doctor's *Votes* are *Votes* in Dream and Fancy, and he celebrates his Friend's Memory by Chimera's, and nothing; and not only so, but in plain Opposition to Things really in being: And I hope one *actual* *Vote* preponderates, and is of more worth than ten thousand of the Doctor's *imaginary* ones.

Next to his *clear and bright Reason*, &c. the Doctor celebrates his willingness to forgive, in these Words, *He could easily forgive an Enemy, as that Bundle of Libels which was found among his other Papers, with this Inscription; These are Libels, I pray God forgive them. I do,* Now as to this Character, I do not know whether the Doctor would venture it to the Poll as he does his *Reason* and *Judgment*; but if he would, I doubt there are some Living who could honestly *Vote* the contrary: And particularly the *Christ-church* Men, whom he always esteem'd and treated as Enemies to the day of his Death, for no other Reason, that ever I could hear, or I believe the Doctor can tell, but that some of that College acted

accor-

according to the best of their Judgment, and present'd before him a more fit Person of their own Body to be Prolocutor of the Convocation. In the mean time this is too great a Vertue to be huddled up in *Generals*, and left to the single Testimony of a Posthumous Inscription upon some obscure Papers. Does the Doctor know any one Instance of a Person who bore him ill Will, or actually provoked him, or highly disobligh'd him, whom notwithstanding he repaid with favour and kindness, and *heap'd Coals of Fire upon his Head*. The Doctor tell us, he was his *Friend*, and consequently must be acquainted with some of the *secret*, as well as the *open* Passages of his Life, and if he had known any Thing of this, to be sure we should have heard of it; but to talk so magnificently of his *easiness of forgiving Enemies*, and have nothing at all to say for it, but the Supercription of a blind Bundle, which no Body knows the Contents of, is a gross imposition on his Hearers: However as to *Libels*, I must confess there was a severe *Libel* writ against him, the Title of which is, *A Letter to the Lord Russel*, the Author *Dr. Tillotson*, and this indeed *Libels* and reproaches him, far beyond what his most malicious Enemies were ever able to do. And these Gentlemen had need talk of *Libels*, when they have taken such extraordinary Pains to *Libel* themselves. *Dr. Patrick's Paraphrases* are a notorious *Libel* against him; and *Dr. Stillingfleet's Preface to the Jesuits Loyalty* is a terrible *Libel* against him; and *Dr. Sherlock's Case of Resistance*, and all his *Books* and *Sermons* before the *Oath*, are venomous and inveterate *Libels* against him, and against all that he hath preached and written since. These are *Libels*, and perpetual *Libels*, and will remain everlasting Monuments of their Infamy, except they can persuade the People to burn all their *Books*, and forget all their *Sermons*. So that (to give these Gentlemen their due) they have sav'd their Adversaries all the trouble in this Point, and (whatever they may think on't) they have something else to do, than to beat so common and tire an Argument, to trouble the World with any more *Libels* upon them, when they find so many already made to their hands by the Gentlemen themselves.

And thus, Sir, I have made an End of the Task which you have impos'd on me; I shall take my leave of you with this Advice from the whole, That if you purpose when you are called from the World to have the Solemnity of your Interment graced with a *Funeral Sermon*, that you will give direction that the *Preacher* be a Man of *Probity* and *Principles*; for otherwise no Man will believe your Vertues upon the Credit of your *Oration*, and your Memory may be blasted instead of being recommended: For let him say never so many good Things of you, it is not impossible but before the Year comes about, he may *recant* and *renounce* every Word of it.

Before I conclude, I think my self oblig'd (in this second Letter) to account to you for declining Compliance with your new Request, of re-
marking

marking on Dr. Payn's Sermon on the same Subject. Your Intimation made me undertake the Penance of reading some of it; but to go through it, is too great a Discipline for any Man, whose Palate hath ever relish'd any Thing above *three half Penny Poetry*. Why, Sir, many Years ago I have heard some of it sung about the Streets in wretched and nauseous *Duggerel*. What do you think of this? p. 6. *I know not how to draw her Picture, tis so all over Beauties without any Foul, any Shade, any Blemish; so perfect in every Feature, so accomplish'd in every Part, so adorn'd with every Perfection and every Grace.* O Rare, Sir! Here's *Piullus* and *Cbloris*, and *Jillian a Cryden*. Sh' hath every Feature, every Grace;

So charming every Part &c.

*Tis no wonder he tells us, (p. 6.) of *screwing her with the Flowers of withered and decay'd Poetry*; for the Song out of which he hath transcribed his Sermon is of very great Age, and hath been sung at many a *Whitsun Ale*, and many a *Wedding*, (though I believe never at a *Funeral* before) and therefore in all this time may very well be *decay'd and wither'd*: In the mean time, if you, Sir, were to draw the *Picture* of a great Princess, I fancy you would not make choice of *Adopsa* to sit for it. Alas! Sir, there was *Cassandra*, and *Cleopatra*, and many a fam'd *Romance* more, which might have furnish'd him with handsome Characters and yet he must needs be *preaching and instructing* his People out of *Hey down derry*, and the *fair Maid of Kent*. If he had intitled it, *the White Chappel Ballad*, and got some Body to set it to the Tune of *Amarillis*, compos'd by W. P. Songster, the Character of the *Amber*, the *Turk*, and the *Master*, would have very well agreed, and perhaps it might have pass'd at the Corners of Streets; but to call it a *Sermon*, and by R. P. Doctor in *Divinity*, tis one of the *lowest* Things in the World. It may be reckon'd among the Misfortunes of this Princess, that her *Memory* is celebrated in the *Language* of the *Straw*; her Fame told in the *Words* and *Discards* wherewith the *Bunches* serenade their *Misses*. And the Place from whence it comes will never mend it; for though the *Pulpit* of late Years hath done Wonders, and made the lame Things *Right and Wrong*, *True and False*; yet I think it will hardly undertake to elevate *Crabgrass* among the *Misses*, to translate a *loose unsavoury and slovenly Ballad* into *Hymns* and *decent Praises*. However, if they think such Things suitable to the *Gravity* of their Character they may enjoy their Humour for me: I think it much below mine, to *bestow* my self in taking notice of it. And (I pray pardon my Resentment) I am sorry you think your poor Friend hath nothing else to do, than to make *Remarks* on *Fa la la*, and *Lily Ballads*; let it be *preach'd* where it will, and call'd by what Name they please. I am, Sir, yours, &c.